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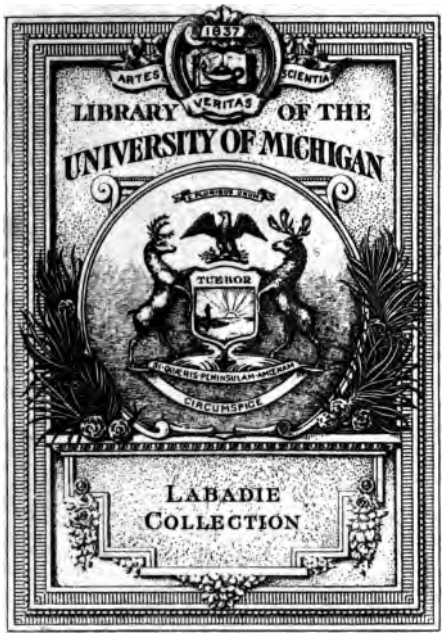


THE GIFT OF
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August 1950

# MISCELLANIES.

BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

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# CONTENTS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

CROMWELL AND WASHINGTON.

FIVE DEAD MEN WHOM I KNEW WHEN LIVING (Robert Owen, Mazzini, J. S. Mill, Sumner, Ledru Rollin).

FREEMASONRY.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL.

FOUR LECTURES ON ANTHROPOLOGY.

HINTS TO EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

*FROM A PORTRAIT TAKEN BY* W. V. AMEY, OF LANDPORT, IN 1885.

# Autobiography of Mr. Bradlaugh.

[*Reprinted from the "National Reformer", August 31st, 1873.*]

AT the request of many friends, and by way of farewell address on leaving for America, I, for the first time in my life, pen a partial autobiographical sketch. I do not pretend that the narrative will be a complete picture of my life: I only vouch the accuracy of the facts so far as I state them. I have not the right in some cases to state political occurrences in which others now living are involved, nor have I the courage of Jean Jacques Rousseau, to photograph my inner life. I shall therefore state little the public may not already know.

I was born on the 26th September, 1833, in a small house in Bacchus Walk, Hoxton. My father was a solicitor's clerk with a very poor salary, which he supplemented by law writing. He was an extremely industrious man, and a splendid penman. I never had the opportunity of judging his tastes or thoughts, outside his daily labours, except in one respect, in which I have followed in his footsteps. He was passionately fond of angling.

Until 1848 my life needs little relation. My schooling, like that of most poor men's children,

with my father, to "change my opinions or lose my situation". I am inclined to think now that the threat was never intended to have been enforced, but was used to terrify me into submission. At that time I hardly knew what, if any, opinions I had, but the result was that, sooner than make a show of recanting, I left home and situation on the third day, and never returned to either.

I was always a very fluent speaker, and now lectured frequently at the Temperance Hall, Warner Place, Hackney Road, at the small Hall in Philpot Street, and in the open air in Bonner's Fields, where, at last, on Sunday afternoons, scores or hundreds congregated to hear me. My views were then Deistical, but rapidly tending to the more extreme phase into which they ultimately settled. I now took part in all the gatherings held in London on behalf of the Poles and Hungarians, and actually fancied that I could write poetry on Kossuth and Mazzini.

It was at this time I made the acquaintance of my friend and co-worker, Mr. Austin Holyoake, at his printing office in Queen's Head Passage, and I remember him taking me to John Street Institution, where, at one of the pleasant Saturday evening gatherings, I met the late Mrs. Emma Martin. At Mr. Austin Holyoake's request, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, to my great delight, presided at one of my lectures in Philpot Street, and I felt special interest in the number of the *Reasoner* which contained a brief reference to myself and that lecture.

I wrote my first pamphlet, "A Few Words on the *Christian's Creed*," about the middle of 1850, and was

honored by Dr. Campbell of the *British Banner* with a leading article vigorously assailing me for the lectures I had then delivered.

After leaving home I was chiefly sheltered by Mrs. Sharples Carlile, with whose children, Hypatia, Theophila, and Julian, I shared such comforts as were at her disposal. Here I studied hard everything which came in my way, picking up a little Hebrew and an imperfect smattering of other tongues. I tried to earn my living as a coal merchant, but at sixteen, and without one farthing in my pocket, the business was not extensive enough to be profitable. I got very poor, and at that time was also very proud. A subscription offered me by a few Freethinkers shocked me, and awakened me to a sense of my poverty; so, telling no one where I was going, I went away, and on the 17th of December, 1850, was, after some difficulty, enlisted in the Seventh Dragoon Guards. With this corps I remained until October, 1853, being ultimately appointed orderly-room clerk; the regiment, during the whole of the time I remained in it, being quartered in Ireland. While I was in the regiment I was a teetotaler, and used often to lecture to the men in the barrack-room at night; and I have more than once broken out of Portobello barracks to deliver teetotal speeches in the small French Street Hall, Dublin. Many times have I spoken there in my scarlet jacket, between James Haughton and the good old father, the Rev. Dr. Spratt, a Roman Catholic priest, then very active in the cause of temperance. While I was in the regiment my father died, and in the summer of 1853 an aunt's death left me

a small sum, out of which I purchased my discharge, and returned to England, to aid in the maintenance of my mother and family.

I have now no time for the full story of my army life, which, however, I may tell some day. Before I left the regiment I had won the esteem of most of the privates, and of some of the officers. I quitted the regiment with a "very good character" from the Colonel; but I am bound to add that the Captain of my troop would not have concurred in this character had he had any voice in the matter. The Lieutenant-Colonel, C. P. Ainslie, earned an eternal right to grateful mention at my hands by his gentlemanly and considerate treatment. I cannot say the same for my Captain, who did his best to send me to gaol, and whom I have not yet quite forgiven.

On returning to civilian life, I obtained employment in the daytime with a solicitor named Rogers, and in the evening as clerk to a Building Society. Soon after entering this employ I began again to write and speak; and it was then, to avoid in some degree the efforts which were afterwards made to ruin me, I took the name of "Iconoclast", under which all my anti-theological work down to 1868 was done. I give Mr. Rogers' name now, for he is dead, and malice cannot injure him. Many anonymous letters were sent to him to warn him of my irreligious opinions; he treated them all with contempt, only asking me not to let my propaganda become an injury to his business.

Soon after my discharge from the army I had a *curious adventure.* While I was away a number of *poor men had subscribed* their funds together and had

erected a Working Man's Hall, in Goldsmith's Row, Hackney Road. Not having any legal advice, it turned out that they had been entrapped into erecting their building on freehold ground without any lease or conveyance from the freeholder, who asserted his legal right to the building. The men consulted me, and finding that under the Statute of Frauds they had no remedy, I recommended them to offer a penalty rent of £20 a year. This being refused, I constituted myself into a law court; and without any riot or breach of the peace, I, with the assistance of a hundred stout men, took every brick of the building bodily away, and divided the materials, so far as was possible, amongst the proper owners. I think I can see now the disappointed rascal of a freeholder when he only had his bare soil left once more. He did not escape unpunished, for, to encourage the others to contribute, he had invested some few pounds in the building. He had been too clever: he had relied on the letter of the law, and I beat him with a version of common-sense justice.

I lectured once or twice a week in the small Philpot Street Hall; very often then in the Hall of Science, City Road; and then in the old John Street Institution, until I won myself a name in the party and through the country.

In 1855 I had my first notable adventure with the authorities in reference to the right of meeting in Hyde Park, and subsequently gave evidence before the Royal Commission ordered by the House of Commons, presided over by the Right Hon. Stuart Wortley. I was very proud that day at Westminster, when, at

the conclusion of my testimony against the authorities, the Commissioner publicly thanked me, and the people who crowded the Court of Exchequer cheered me, for the manner in which I denied the right of Sir Richard Mayne, the then Chief Commissioner of Police, to issue the notices forbidding the people to meet in the Park. This was a first step in a course in which I have never flinched or wavered.

In 1856 I undertook, with others, the publication of a series of papers entitled "Half-hours with Free-thinkers," the late John Watts being one of my co-workers. I also by myself commenced the publication of my "Commentary on the Pentateuch", which has since been entirely re-written, and now forms my "Bible: what it is."

During the autumn of 1857 I paid my first lecturing visit to Northampton.

Early in 1858, when Mr. Edward Truelove was suddenly arrested for publishing the pamphlet "Is Tyrannicide Justifiable?", I became Honorary Secretary to the Defence, and was at the same time associated with the conduct of the defence of Simon Bernard, who was arrested at the instigation of the French Government for alleged complicity in the Orsini tragedy. It was at this period I gained the friendship of poor Bernard, which, without diminution, I retained until he died; and also the valued friendship of Thomas Allsop, which I still preserve. My associations were thenceforward such as to encourage in me a strong and bitter feeling against the late Emperor Napoleon. Whilst he was [redacted] *I hated him*, and never lost an opportunity

of working against him until the *déchéance* came. I am not sure now that I always judged him fairly; but nothing, I think, could have tempted me either to write or speak of him with friendliness or kindliness during his life. *Le sang de mes amis etait sur son âme.* Now that the tomb covers his remains, my hatred has ceased; but no other feeling has arisen in its place. Should any of his family seek to resume the Imperial purple, I should remain true to my political declarations of sixteen years since, and should exert myself to the uttermost to prevent France falling under another Empire. I write this with much sadness, as the years 1870 to 1873 have dispelled some of my illusions, held firmly during the fifteen years which preceded. I had believed in such men as Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Victor Hugo, as possible statesmen for France. I was mistaken. They were writers, talkers, and poets; good men to ride on the stream, or to drown in honest protest, but lacking force to swim against, or turn back, the tide by the might of their will. I had believed too in a Republican France, which is yet only in the womb of time, to be born after many pangs and sore travailing.

In 1859 I saw Joseph Mazzini for the first time, and remained on terms of communication with the great Italian patriot until the year 1869, from time to time bringing him correspondence from Italy, where my business sometimes took me. After 1869 we found ourselves holding diverse opinions on the Franco-Prussian question—Mazzini went for Prussia, I for France—and I never saw him again.

*In June, 1858,* I held my first public formal theo-

logical debate with the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., at that time a Dissenting Minister at Sheffield. Mr. Grant was then a man of some ability, and if he could have forgotten his aptitudes as a circus jester, would have been a redoubtable antagonist. During this year I was elected President of the London Secular Society, in lieu of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, who had theretofore led the English Freethought party, but who has of late years devoted himself more completely to general journalistic work.

In November, 1858, I commenced editorial duties with the *Investigator*, formerly conducted by the late Robert Cooper, which I continued until August, 1859. It had but a small circulation, and was financially a very great failure.

For the encouragement of young propagandists, I may here insert a little anecdote of my early lecturing experience. I had lectured in Edinburgh in mid-winter; the audience was small, the profits microscopical. After paying my bill at the Temperance Hotel, where I then stayed, I had only a few shillings more than my Parliamentary fare to Bolton, where I was next to lecture. I was out of bed at five on a freezing morning, and could have no breakfast, as the people were not up. I carried my luggage (a big tin box, corded round, which then held books and clothes, and a small black bag), for I could not spare any of my scanty cash for a conveyance or porter. The train from Edinburgh being delayed by a severe snow-storm; the corresponding Parliamentary had left Carlisle long *before our arrival.* In order to reach Bolton in time for

my lecture, I had to book by a quick train, starting in about three-quarters of an hour, but could only book to Preston, as the increased fare took all my money, except 4½d. With this small sum I could get no refreshment in the station, but in a little shop in the street outside I got a mug of hot tea and a little hot meat pie. From Preston I got with great difficulty on to Bolton, handing my black bag to the station-master there, as security for my fare from Preston, until the morning. I arrived in Bolton about a quarter to eight; the lecture commenced at eight, and I, having barely time to run to my lodgings, and wash and change, went on to the platform cold and hungry. I shall never forget that lecture; it was in an old Unitarian Chapel. We had no gas, the building seemed full of a foggy mist, and was imperfectly lit with candles. Everything appeared cold, cheerless, and gloomy. The most amusing feature was that an opponent, endowed with extra piety and forbearance, chose that evening to specially attack me for the money-making and easy life I was leading. Peace to that opponent's memory: I have never seen him since. It was while in Scotland on this journey I made the acquaintance, and ultimately won the friendship, of the late Alexander Campbell, of Glasgow—a generous, kindly-hearted old Socialist Missionary, who, at a time when others were hostile, spoke encouragingly to me, and who afterwards worked with me for a long period on the *National Reformer*.

Occasionally, the lectures were interfered with by the authorities, but this happened oftener in the provinces than *in London*. In March, 1859, I was to have

lectured in the Saint Martin's Hall on "Louis Napoleon," but the Government—on a remonstrance by Count Walewski, as to language used at a previous meeting, at which I had presided for Dr. Bernard—interfered; the hall was garrisoned by police, and the lecture prevented. Mr. Hullah, the then proprietor, being indemnified by the authorities, paid damages for his breach of contract, to avoid a suit which I at once commenced against him.

Later in the same month I held a debate in Northampton with Mr. John Bowes, a rather heavy but well-meaning old gentleman, utterly unfitted for platform controversy. The press now began to deal with me tolerably freely, and I find "boy", "young man", and "juvenile appearance" very frequent in the comments. My want of education was an especial matter for hostile criticism, more particularly so when the writer had neither heard nor seen me.

Discussions now grew on me so thick and fast that even some of the most important debates may perhaps escape notice in this imperfect chronicling. At Sheffield I debated with a Reverend Dr. Mensor, who styled himself a Jewish Rabbi. He was then in the process of gaining admission to the Church of England, and had been put forward to show my want of scholarship. We both scrawled Hebrew characters for four nights on a black board, to the delight and mystification of the audience, who gave me credit for erudition, because I chalked the square letter characters with tolerable rapidity and clearness. At Glasgow I debated with *a Mr. Court, re*presenting the Glasgow Protestant

Association, a glib-tongued missionary, who has since gone to the bad; at Paisley with a Mr. Smart, a very gentlemanly antagonist; and at Halifax with the Rev. T. D. Matthias, a Welsh Baptist Minister, unquestionably very sincere. All these were formal debates, and were reported with tolerable fulness in the various local journals.

In the early part of 1860 I, aided by my friends at Sheffield, Halifax, and other parts of England, projected the *National Reformer* in small shares. Unfortunately, just after the issue of its prospectus, Joseph Barker returned from America, and was associated with me in the editorship. The arrangement was peculiar, Mr. Barker editing the first half of the paper and I the second. It was not precisely a happy union, and the unnatural alliance came to an end in a very brief period. In August, 1861, I officially parted company with Joseph Barker as editor. We had been practically divorced for months before: the first part of the paper usually contained abuse of those who wrote in the second half. He came to me originally at Sheffield, pretending to be an Atheist and a Republican, and soon after pretended to be a Christian, and spoke in favor of slavery. I am sometimes doubtful as to how far Mr. Barker deluded himself as well as others, in his various changes of theological and political opinions. If he had had the slightest thoroughness in his character, he would have been a great man; as it is, he is only a great turn-coat.

In June 1860, I debated again with the Reverend Brewin Grant, every Monday for four weeks, at Brad-

ford, and during this debate had a narrow escape of my life. In one of my journeys to London, the Great Northern train ran through the station at King's Cross, and many persons were seriously injured. I got off with some trifling bruises and a severe shaking.

Garibaldi having at this time made his famous Marsala effort, I delivered a series of lectures in his aid, and am happy to be able to record that, though at that time very poor, I sent him one hundred guineas as my contribution by my tongue. This money was chiefly sent through W. H. Ashurst, Esq., now Solicitor to the General Post Office, and amongst the few letters I preserve I have one of thanks from "G. Garibaldi", for what I was then doing for Italy.

In this year I debated for four nights with Dr. Brindley, an old antagonist of the Socialists, at Oldham; for two nights with the Rev. Dr. Baylee, the President of St. Aidan's College, at Birkenhead, where a Church of England curate manufactory was for some time carried on; and for two nights with the Rev. Dr. Rutherford, of Newcastle. Dr. Rutherford has since so identified himself with the cause of the Tyneside workers, that I read with regret any harsh words that escaped me in that debate. Although during late years I have managed to keep all my meetings free from violence or disorder, this was not always so.

In October, 1860, I paid my first visit to Wigan, and certainly lectured there under considerable difficulty, and incurred personal danger, the resident clergy actually inciting the populace to physical violence, and

part destruction of the building I lectured in. I, however, supported by one courageous woman and her husband, persevered, and, despite bricks and kicks, visited Wigan again and again, until I had, *bon gré mal gré*, improved the manners and customs of the people, so that I am now a welcome speaker there. I could not improve the morals of the clergy, as the public journals have recently shown, but that was their misfortune, not my fault. In the winter of 1860, I held two formal debates in Wigan, all of which were fully reported in the local journals; one with Mr. Hutchings, a respectable Nonconformist layman, and the other with the Rev. Woodville Woodman, a Swedenborgian divine.

Early in 1861 I visited Guernsey in consequence of an attempt made by the Law Courts of the Island to enforce the Blasphemy Laws against a Mr. Stephen Bendall, who had distributed some of my pamphlets to the Guernseyites, and had been condemned to imprisonment in default of finding sureties not to repeat the offence. Not daring to prosecute me, although challenged in writing, the authorities permitted drink and leave of absence to be given to soldiers in the garrison, on condition they should try to prevent the lecture; and the house in which I lectured was broken into by a drunken aud pious mob, shouting "Kill the Infidel". My antagonists were, fortunately, as cowardly as they were intolerant, and I succeeded in quelling the riot, delivering my lecture in spite of all opposition, although considerable damage was done to the building.

Shortly after this I visited Plymouth, where the Young Men's Christian Association arranged to prosecute me. They were, however, a little too hasty, and had me arrested at an open air meeting when I had scarcely commenced my speech, having only uttered the words—"Friends, I am about to address you on the Bible". Having locked me up all night, and refused bail, it was found by their legal adviser that a blunder had been committed, and a charge of "exciting a breach of the peace, and assaulting the constable in the execution of his duty," was manufactured. It was tolerably amusing to see the number of dinners, suppers, and breakfasts, all accompanied with pots or cups of Devonshire cream, sent in to the Devonport Lock-up, where I was confined, by various friends who wanted to show their sympathy. The invented charge, though well sworn to, broke down after two days' hearing, under the severe cross-examination to which I subjected the witnesses. I defended myself; two lawyers appeared against me; and seven magistrates sat on the bench, predetermined to convict me. Finding that the evidence of the whole of the witnesses whom I wished to call was to be objected to because unbelievers in hell were then incompetent as witnesses according to English law, I am pleased to say that several Nonconformists, disgusted with the bigotry and pious perjury of my prosecutors, came forward. The result was a triumphant victory, and a certificate of dismissal which I wrung from the reluctant bench of great unpaid.

*I was not* yet satisfied; some of the magistrates had

tried to browbeat me, and I announced in court that I would deliver the lecture I had been prevented from delivering to an audience assembled in the borough, and that I should sue at law the Superintendent of Police who had arrested me. The first portion of my defiance was the most difficult to give effect to; not a hall could be hired in Devonport, and nearly all the convenient open land being under military jurisdiction, it was impossible to procure the tenancy of a field for an open-air meeting. I, however, fulfilled my promise, and, despite the police and military authorities combined, I delivered my lecture to an audience assembled in their very teeth. Devonport, Stonehouse, and Plymouth form one garrisoned and fortified town, divided by the River Tamar. All the water to the sea is under the separate jurisdiction of Saltash, some miles distant. I obtained a large boat on which a temporary platform was built, and this boat was quietly moored in the River Tamar on the Devonport side, about two fathoms from the shore. Placards were issued stating that, acting under legal advice, I should address the meeting and deliver the prevented lecture "near to the Devonport Park Gates." Overwhelming force was prepared by the Devonport authorities, and having already erred by too great haste, this time they determined to let me fairly commence my lecture before they arrested me. To their horror I quietly walked past the Park Gates where the crowd was waiting, and passing down a by-lane to the riverside, stepped into a little boat, was rowed to the large one, and then delivered my lecture, the audience who

had followed me standing on an open wharf, all within the jurisdiction of the Borough of Devonport, and I being about nine feet outside the borough. The face of the Mayor ready to read the riot act, the superintendent with twenty-eight picked policemen to make sure of my arrest, and a military force in readiness to overawe any popular demonstration—all these were sights to remember. I am afraid the Devonport Young Men's Christian Association did not limit themselves to prayers and blessings on that famous Sunday.

As I had promised, the authorities refusing any apology for the wrongful arrest, I commenced an action against Superintendent Edwards, by whom I had been taken into custody. The borough magistrates indemnified their officer and found funds to resist me. I fought with very little help save from one tried, though anonymous, friend, for Joseph Barker, my co-editor, but not co-worker, in our own paper discouraged any pecuniary support. The cause was made a special jury one, and came on for trial at Exeter Assizes. Unfortunately I was persuaded to brief counsel, and Sir Robert Collier, my leader, commenced his speech with an expression of sorrow for my opinions. This damaged me very much, although I won the case easily after a long trial. The jury, composed of Devonshire landowners, only gave me a farthing damages, and Mr. Baron Channell refused to certify for costs. I was determined not to let the matter rest here, and myself carried it to the Court *in banco*, where I argued it in person, for two whole days, before Lord *Chief Justice* Erle and a full bench of Judges.

Although I did not succeed in improving my own position, I raised public opinion in favor of free speech; and the enormous costs incurred by the borough authorities, and which they had to bear, have deterred them from ever again interfering either with my lectures or those of any other speaker; and I now have crowded audiences in the finest hall whenever I visit the three towns. These proceedings cost me several hundred pounds, and burthened me with a debt which took long clearing off.

In 1862 I held a four nights' discussion with a Dissenting clergyman, the Rev. W. Barker. My opponent was probably one of the most able and straightforward amongst my numerous antagonists. About this time a severe attack of acute rheumatism prostrated me; and having soon after to visit Italy, I, at first under medical advice, adopted the habit of drinking the light Continental wines; and although continuing an advocate of sobriety, I naturally ceased to take part in any teetotal gatherings.

In the struggle between the Northern and Southern States of America, my advocacy and sympathies went—with what I am glad to say was the feeling of the great mass of the English people—in favor of the North; and my esteemed friend and then contributor, W. E. Adams, furnished most valuable aid with his pen in the enlightenment of public opinion, at a time when many of our aristocracy were openly exulting in what they conceived to be the probable break-up of the United States Republic. During the Lancashire Cotton Famine I lectured several times in aid of the fund.

I began now also to assume a much more prominent position in the various English political movements, and especially to speak on the Irish Church and Irish Land questions. On the Irish question, I owe much to my late co-worker and contributor, poor Peter Fox André, a thoroughly honest and whole-souled man, whose pen was always on the side of struggling nationalities.

One of the disadvantages connected with a public career is, that every vile scoundrel who is too cowardly to face you openly can libel you anonymously. I have had, I think, my full share of this kind of annoyance. Most of the slanders I have treated with utter contempt, and if I had alone consulted my own feelings, I should probably never have pursued any other course. Twice, however, I have had recourse to the judgment of the law—once in the case of a clergyman of the Church of England, who indulged in a foul libel affecting my wife and children. This fellow I compelled to retract every word he had uttered, and to pay £100, which, after deducting the costs, was divided amongst various charitable institutions. The reverend libeller wrote me an abject letter, begging me not to ruin his prospects in the Church by publishing his name; I consented, and he has since repaid my mercy by losing no opportunity of being offensive. He is a prominent contributor to the *Rock*, and a fierce ultra-Protestant. He must have greater confidence in my honor than in his own, or fear of exposure would compel him to greater reticence. The other case arose during the [redacted]lection, and will be dealt with in its proper order.

It was my fortune to be associated with the Reform League from its earliest moments until its dissolution. It is hardly worth while to repeat here the almost stereotyped story of the successful struggle made by the League for Parliamentary Reform. E. Beales, Esq., was the President of the League, and I was one of its Vice-Presidents, and continued nearly the whole time of its existence a member of its executive. The whole of my services and journeys were given to the League without the slightest remuneration, and I repeatedly, and according to my means, contributed to its funds. When I resigned my position on the executive I received from Mr. George Howell, the Secretary, and from Mr. Beales, the President, the most touching and flattering letters as to what Mr. Beales was pleased to describe as the loyalty and utility of my services to the League. Mr. George Howell concluded a long letter as follows:—"Be pleased to accept my assurance of sincere regards for your manly courage, consistent and honorable conduct in our cause, and for your kindly consideration for myself as secretary of this great movement on all occasions". These letters have additional value from the fact that Mr. Beales, whom I sincerely respect, differs widely from me in matters of faith, and Mr. Howell is, unfortunately, far from having any friendly feelin towards me. It was while on the Executive of this League that I first became intimately acquainted with Mr. George Odger, and had reason to be pleased with the straightforward course he pursued, and the honest work he did as one of the Executive Committee. Mr.

John Baxter Langley and Mr. R. A. Cooper were also amongst my most prominent co-workers.

My sympathy with Ireland, and open advocacy of justice for the Irish, nearly brought me into serious trouble. Some who were afterwards indicted as the chiefs of the so-called Fenian movement, came to me for advice. So much I see others have written, and the rest of this portion of my autobiography I may write some day. At present there are men not out of danger whom careless words might imperil, and as regards myself I shall not be guilty of the folly of printing language which a Government might use against me. My pamphlet on the Irish question, published in 1866, won a voluntary letter of warm approval from Mr. Gladstone, the only friendly writing I ever received from him in my life.

At Huddersfield, the Philosophical Hall having been duly hired for my lectures, pious influence was brought to bear on the lessee to induce him to break his contract. Fortunately, what in law amounted to possession had been given, and on the doors being locked against me, I broke them open, and delivered my lecture to a crowded and most orderly audience. I was arrested, and an attempt was made to prosecute me before the Huddersfield magistrates; but I defended myself with success, and defeated with ease the Conservative solicitor, N. Learoyd, who had been specially retained to ensure my committal to gaol.

In 1868 I entered into a contest with the Conservative Government, which, having been continued by the Gladstone Government, finished in 1869 with a complete

victory for myself. According to the then law every newspaper was required to give sureties to the extent of £800 against blasphemous or seditious libel. I had never offered to give these sureties, as they would have probably been liable to forfeiture about once a month. In March 1868, the Disraeli Government insisted on my compliance with the law. I refused. The Government then required me to stop my paper. I printed on the next issue, "Printed in Defiance of Her Majesty's Government". I was then served with an Attorney-General's information, containing numerous counts, and seeking to recover enormous penalties. I determined to be my own barrister, and while availing myself in consultation of the best legal advice, I always argued my own case. The interlocutory hearings before the Judges in Chambers were numerous, for I took objection to nearly every step made by the Government, and I nearly always succeeded. I also brought the matter before Parliament, being specially backed in this by Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. John Stuart Mill, and Mr. E. H. J. Craufurd. When the information was called on for trial in a crowded court before Mr. Baron Martin, the Government backed out, and declined to make a jury: so the prosecution fell to the ground. Strange to say, it was renewed by the Gladstone Government, who had the coolness to offer me, by the mouth of Attorney-General Collier, that they would not enforce any penalties if I would stop the paper and admit that I was in the wrong. This I declined, and the prosecution now came on for trial before Baron Bramwell and a special jury. Against

me were the Attorney-Genèral, Sir R. Collier; the Solicitor-General, Sir J. D. Coleridge; and Mr. Crompton Hutton. I found that these legal worthies were blundering in their conduct of the trial, and at *nisi prius* I let them obtain a verdict, which, however, I reversed, on purely technical grounds, after a long argument, which I sustained before Lord Chief Baron Kelly and a full court sitting *in banco*. Having miserably failed to enforce the law against me, the Government repealed the statute, and I can boast that I got rid of the last shackle of the obnoxious English press laws. Mr. J. S. Mill wrote me: "You have gained a very honorable success in obtaining a repeal of the mischievous Act by your persevering resistance". The Government, although beaten, refused to reimburse me any portion of the large outlay incurred in fighting them.

It has always been my ambition to enter Parliament, and, at the General Election for 1868, I for the first time entered the arena as a candidate. I was beaten: but this is scarcely wonderful. I had all the journals in England except three against me. Every idle or virulent tale which folly could distort or calumny invent was used against me. Despite all, I polled nearly 1,100 votes, and I obtained, unasked, but not ungratefully listened to, the public acknowledgments from the Mayor of the borough, also from one of my competitors, Mr. Charles Gilpin, as to the loyal manner in which I had fought the contest through.

During the election struggle, libels rained from all sides. One by the late Mr. Capper, M.P., seeking *re-election at Sandwich*, was the monstrous story, that,

in the open square at Northampton, I had taken out my watch and defied God to show his power by striking me dead in five minutes. Challenged for his authority, Mr. Capper pretended to have heard the story from Mr. C. Gilpin, M.P., who indignantly denied being any party to the falsehood. I insisted on an apology from Mr. Capper, which being refused, I sued him, but he died soon after the writ was served. The story was not an original invention by Mr. Capper; it had been reported of Abner Kneeland thirty years before, and is still a favorite one with pious missionaries at street corners. A still more outrageous slander was inserted in the *Razor*, a pseudo-comic weekly. I compelled this journal to give a full apology, but not until after two years' litigation, and a new trial had been ordered. When obliged to recant, the Christian proprietor became insolvent, to avoid payment of the costs. Unfortunately, born poor, my life had been one continued struggle, and the burden of my indebtedness was sorely swollen in this and similar contests.

Probably the most severe, and to me certainly the most costly, struggle has been that on the oath question. Formerly it was a fatal objection against the competency of a witness that he did not believe in a Deity and in a future state of rewards and punishments. Several attempts had been made to alter the law, but they had all failed; and, indeed, Sir J. Trevelyan's measures only provided for affirmation, and did not even seek to abolish the incompetency. In a case in which I was

plaintiff in the Court of Common Pleas, my evidence was objected to, and I determined to fight the matter through every possible court, and to get the law changed if possible. I personally argued the case before Lord Chief Justice Bovill and a full Bench, in the Court of Common Pleas; and with the aid of the present Mr. Justice Denman and the late Lord Chancellor Hatherly, the law was twice altered in Parliament. Before victory was ultimately obtained I had to carry the case into the Court of Error, and I prepared and sent out at my own cost more than two hundred petitions to Parliament. Ultimately, the Evidence Amendment Act, 1869, and the Evidence Further Amendment Act, 1870, gave Freethinkers the right to enter the witness box, and I won my suit. The Christian defendant finished by becoming bankrupt, and I lost a terribly large sum in debt and costs. The original debt and interest were over £300, and the costs of the various proceedings were very heavy.

In the winter of 1870 the Mirfield Town Hall, which had been properly taken and paid for for two nights' lectures, was refused by the proprietors, who barricaded the hall and obtained a great force of police from the neighborhood. In order that the law might be clearly settled on this matter, I brought an action to try the question, and although the late Mr. Justice Willes expressed himself strongly in my favor, it was held by Mr. Justice Mellor at *nisi prius* that nothing, except a deed under seal or an actual demise, would avail. A mere *agreement for* a user of a hall was a license revo-

cable at will, even when for a valuable consideration. This convinced me that when hall proprietors break their contracts, I must myself enforce my rights as I did at Huddersfield and have done in other places.

During the Franco-Prussian struggle I remained neutral until the 4th of September. I was against Bismarck and his blood-and-iron theory, but I was also utterly against the Empire and the Emperor; so I took no part with either. I was lecturing at Plymouth the day the *déchéance* was proclaimed, and immediately after wrote my first article in favor of Republican France. I now set to work, and organised a series of meetings in London and the provinces, some of which were co-operated in by Dr. Congreve, Professor Beesly, and other prominent members of the Positivist party. These meetings exercised some little effect on the public opinion in this country, but unfortunately the collapse on the part of France was so complete, and the resources commanded by Bismarck and Moltke so vast, that except as expressing sympathy the results were barren. In October, 1870, without any previous communication from myself to them, I received from the Republican Government at Tours a long and flattering letter, signed by Léon Gambetta, Adolphe Cremieux, Al Glais Bizoin, and Admiral Fourichon, declaring that they, as members of the "Gouvernement de la Defense Nationale, réunis en délégation à Tours," "tiennent à honneur de vous remercier chalereusement du noble concours que vous apportez à la cause de la France." On the 2nd of February, 1871, M. Tissot, the Chargé

d'Affaires of France in England, wrote me: "Quant à moi, mon cher ami, je ne puis que constater ici, comme je l'ai déjà fait, comme je le ferai en toute occasion, la dette que nous avons contractée envers vous. Vous nous avez donné votre temps, votre activité, votre éloquence, votre âme, la meilleure partie de vous meme, en un mot; la France que vous avez été seule à defendre ne l'oubliera jamais." This is probably a too flattering estimate of my services to France, but coming from the official representative of the French Republic, I feel entitled to insert it. In September, 1871, Monsieur Emmanuel Arago, member of the Provisional Government of the 4th of September wrote the following words upon the letter which had been sent me, as above mentioned, in October, 1870, by the Delegate Government of Tours: "En lisant cette lettre, j'éprouve très vivement le regret de n'avoir pu, enfermé dans Paris, joindre ma signature à celles de mes collègues de la délégation de Tours. Mr. Bradlaugh est et sera tojours dans la République notre concitoyen."

During 1870, 1871, and 1872, I held several debates with the Rev. A. J. Harrison, formerly of Huddersfield. The first, at Newcastle, in the splendid Town Hall of that place, was attended by about 5,000 persons. The second debate at Bristol was notable from being presided over by Professor Newman. The third discussion was at Birmingham, and was an attempt at the Socratic method, and the last platform encounter was in the New Hall of Science, London. Of the Rev. Mr. *Harrison it is enough* I should say that, a few weeks

since, when rumor put my life in danger, he was one of the first to write a kindly and unaffected letter of sympathy to Mrs. Bradlaugh.

When the great cry of thanksgiving was raised for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, I could not let it pass without protest. While he lay dangerously ill I had ceased to make any attack on himself or family, but I made no pretence of a grief I did not feel. When the thanksgiving day was fixed, and tickets for St. Paul's were sent by the Lord Chamberlain to working men representatives, I felt it right to hold a meeting of protest, which was attended by a crowded audience in the New Hall of Science.

The "right of meeting" has given me three important occasions of measuring swords with the Government during the last few years, and each time defeat has attended the Government. The first was the Hyde Park meeting, where I acted in accord with Mr. Beales, to whom as chief, let the honor go of this conflict. The second was on the 31st July, 1871, under the following circumstances. A meeting had been held by Mr. G. Odger and some of his friends in Hyde Park, on Sunday the 30th of July, to protest against the grant to Prince Arthur; this meeting was adjourned until the following evening. Late on the Sunday afternoon, the adjourned meeting was forbidden by the Government. Early on Monday morning Mr. Odger applied to me to give the friends the benefit of my legal knowledge and personal influence. I consented, and the Government persevering, I took my share of the responsibility of the

gathering, and signed, with Mr. Odger, a new notice convening the meeting. The Home Office not only served us also with a written prohibition, but threatened and prepared to use force. I immediately gave Mr. Bruce notice that the force would be illegal, and that it would be resisted. At the last moment, and in fact only some half hour before the meeting commenced, the Government abandoned its prohibition, and an enormous meeting of a most orderly character was held in absolute defiance of the authorities.

The more recent case was in December, 1872, when, finding that Mr. Odger, Mr. Bailey, and others, had been prosecuted under some monstrous and ridiculous regulations invented by Mr. Ayrton, I, on my own responsibility, determined to throw down the gauntlet to the Government. I did this most successfully, and soon after the opening of Parliament the obnoxious regulations were annulled.

It is at present too early to speak of the Republican movement in England, which I have sought, and not entirely without success, to organise on a thoroughly legal basis. It is a fair matter for observation that my lectures on "The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick," have been delivered to crowded audiences assembled in some of the finest halls in England and Scotland, notably the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Town Hall, Birmingham, the Town Hall, Northampton, and the City Hall, Glasgow. It is, as far as I am aware, the first time any English citizen has, without tumult or disorder, and in buildings belonging to

various Municipalities, directly challenged the hereditary right of the reigning family.

In penning the foregoing sketch I had purposely to omit many facts connected with branches of Italian, Irish, and French politics. I have also entirely omitted my own struggles for existence. The political parts are left out because there are secrets which are not my own alone, and which may not bear full telling for many years to come. The second, because I hope that another year or two of hard work may enable me to free myself from the debt load which for some time has hung heavily round me.

# CROMWELL AND WASHINGTON.

## I.—CROMWELL.

OLIVER CROMWELL is probably one of the mightiest amongst England's children. His memory, always fresh, has for its protection no array of statues. A modern Prince has his otherwise undiscoverable goodness prominently recorded in many cities, lest without the stone record all traces of his virtues should be lost; but we can recall Cromwell's greatness without even one marble or granite reminder of his glorious manhood. Statues are now chiefly erected by Englishmen on Utilitarian principles. We build the most monuments to those men who, but for such aids, would perhaps be least remembered.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon on April 15th, 1599, just as the reign of Elizabeth was drawing to a close. A Royalist from birth until death, Royalist by early association and family tradition, of easy fortunes and fair connections, Cromwell had no special temptation to the adoption of a course of rebellion against the Crown. When about twenty-nine years old he sat in the House of Commons for his native borough of Huntingdon. He owed his seat probably more to the family influence and old estates than to any special merit then manifested; and in this first essay at Parliamentary life Oliver Cromwell has left us very little for record, although the Parliament in which he sat was a great one, and had its stirring scenes. It was the third Parliament of Charles I. Carlyle calls it "a brave and noble Parliament.' This was the Parliament to which his Majesty sent a message, requiring it "not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any Minister of his Majesty," and which forthwith accused and impeached the great Duke of Buckingham. This was the Parliament in which Mr. Speaker Finch tried to stifle speech, and to avoid all Parliamentary remonstrance, by adjourning the House; the only Parliament, as far as I know, in which some of the members held the Speaker in the chair while they, on March 2nd, 1629, voted respectful remonstrances against tonnage, poundage, and other matters.

Denzil Holles, Sir John Eliot, William Strode, and John Selden (who were afterwards fined or imprisoned for their daring) were amongst the most prominent in thus forcibly retaining Mr. Speaker. "Let him go!" cry the King's Privy Councillors. "No," answers Holles; "God's wounds! he shall sit there until it pleases the House to rise." And in all this stir we see no sign of Oliver Cromwell.

Poor Eliot—for his part in this business fined £2,000, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure—will make no submission, ask no grace, and the Tower dungeon is his tomb: he comes not out of gaol alive. How many grand men die in the effort to make a country live, and these dead have not even the honour of a grateful memory from the children of those they served so well! Living a day or two too early, they were the forlorn hope, whose bodies helped to fill the ditch, that others might pass more easily to victory and glory. This third Parliament should be memorable if only that gallant Eliot sat in it. It was this Parliament which solemnly declared, in the famous Petition of Right, "That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such-like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament."

Parliament was soon dissolved; it had only been needed to vote "supply." Not fulfilling this need, it was extinguished, as had been its predecessors. There had already been in this yet short reign two preceding Parliaments, both brief-lived, because they would not vote money without discussing grievances; and now this third Parliament, its members having acted, as the king thinks, like "vipers," is also dismissed. Then, for eleven years, no Parliament in England, and during this space Oliver Cromwell leads apparently a gentleman farmer's life on his lands at St. Ives, near the River Ouse. He had a strong tendency to the fast-developing Puritan spirit of the times; his prominent relatives were Puritans, too; but Cromwell manifested—so far as we can judge—little, or no, inclination to meddle in rising political strife. Yet his very Puritanism counted for something in making him a rebel. Sturdy Puritanism struggled against servile Episcopalian flunkeyism. Mainwaring was made a Bishop by Charles I., and Sibthorp gained preferment in the Established Church, for preaching "that the king might take the subjects' money at his pleasure, and that no one might refuse his demand, on penalty of damnation."

No Parliament for eleven years, and yet the king wants money! and without Parliament he cannot have it. The charges of the king's Government grew more serious in each reign. The Crown lands, once extensive enough for everything, had been given and granted to favourite and favourite's flatterer; now broad acres to this pretty face; now wide baronies to this strong arm; now far-stretching slopes and fertile dales to this proud churchman; until the recipients of royal bounty were sometimes as rich as, or richer than, the kingly donor. Feudal obligations to contribute in peace and war to the maintenance of the royal state, are not, and were not, quite as accurately calculable in their realisable results as would be the proceeds of a modern property-tax. "Forced loans" and "benevolences," then a good source of income, were well enough, if collected from the Jews, whom nobody protected; but when the moneys were sought in the cities, the merchants stood resolutely on their privileges and charters, and obstinately refused to lend or give. "Tonnage and poundage" — which divine-right Charles considered a tax to be levied within his own discretion— was much denied. "Tonnage and poundage" was an imposition upon goods and merchandise exported and imported, and was first granted by Parliament about 1523 to Henry VIII., and the right thus accorded to the sovereign to levy had been renewed in each succeeding reign, until the time of Charles I., when it being proposed in the Commons to limit the right to a single year, the Lords rejected the Bill, and Charles Stuart was left without any statutory right to collect the tax.

It was in 1635 that Oliver Cromwell's cousin, John Hampden, was required to pay ship-money, and refused. According to the old practice, there were military tenures, which bound the landholders in a great part of the kingdom to furnish actual men and arms, or to pay in money their cost. So also the Cinque Ports, and other English seaports, and sometimes maritime counties, had been called upon to furnish a quota of ships for the public service, and there had even been instances of similar demands on inland towns, when piracy was prevalent. Attorney-General Noy, to win favour with the king, and backed by the opinion of a corrupted and time-serving Bench of Judges, sought, under cover of ship-money, to levy taxes from the nation without the authority of Parliament. The first ship-money writ was issued to the City of London and other seaports, in October,

1634, requiring them to provide vessels and armaments to oppose the pirates at sea, and under it £35,000 was obtained from the City of London alone, though not without remonstrance or resistance on the part of the citizens. One Richard Chambers refused to pay, and being committed to gaol by the Lord Mayor of London for this non-payment, Chambers brought an action against the Lord Mayor to recover damages for the false imprisonment. His fight was gallant, but hopeless; for the twelve judges, headed by Lord Chief Justice Finch (the former Speaker), had already given their public opinion that the king might, in his sole judgment, issue such a writ as that under which the ship-money levy was made. On Chambers's trial Mr. Justice Berkely refused to allow his counsel to contest the validity of the writ, declaring "that there was a rule of law, and a rule of government, and that many things which could not be done by the first rule could be done by the other." I expect this man Berkely must have been related to the Governor Berkely, of Virginia, who, in the same reign, declared "free schools and printing to be pernicious inventions of the devil for the spread of heresy and sedition." On a portion of his property John Hampden was required to pay 20s., which he refused. The king sued and won judgment for the 20s., but lost a crown as the final result to the suit. The case was argued on behalf of Hampden by Oliver St. John, who was distantly related by marriage to our Oliver Cromwell. The 25th Edward I., "which forever abrogated all taxation without consent of Parliament," was pleaded, but without avail. Another statute called *de Tallagio non Concedendo*, was urged to like effect, but the judges had pre-determined their judgment. Last, but not least, the famous Petition of Right, "that noble legacy of a slandered Parliament," as Hallam calls it, was brought forward by Hampden's counsel. All to no purpose! Seven judges upheld the ship-money levy against five dissenting. The majority laid down the damnable doctrine that King Charles had absolute power "to command his subjects, their persons and goods, and I say their money too." These were the words of Lord Chief Justice Finch, and he found six judges servile enough to re-echo the slavish formula. Five judges dissented, but only two of them, Justices Croke and Hutton, had the courage to squarely deny the alleged prerogative of the Crown, and to declare ship-money unlawful. *Unhappily for* them, their names stood already committed in

writing to the extra-judicial opinion, concocted by Finch, affirming the king's right to issue the writ, and make the levy. It is said that Justice Croke would have given judgment for the king, the justice being in fear of losing his appointment, but that he was kept on the right side by his wife, "who implored him not to sacrifice his conscience for fear of any danger or prejudice to his family, being content to suffer any misery with him, rather than to be an occasion for him to violate his principles."

Hopeless of obtaining justice from the English Law Courts, and not yet driven by despair to the last desperate appeal to force, many of the Puritan leaders looked across to the New England settlements as a haven of refuge. It is said by Hallam that, "Men of a higher rank than the first colonists are now become hopeless alike of the civil and religious liberties of England; men of capacious and commanding minds, formed to be the legislators and generals of an infant Republic; the wise and cautious Lord Say, the acknowledged chief of the Independent sect; the brave, the open, and enthusiastic Lord Brook; Sir Arthur Hazelrig; Hampden, ashamed of a country for whose rights he had fought alone; Cromwell, panting with energies that he could neither control nor explain, and whose unconquerable fire was still wrapped in smoke to every eye but that of his kinsman Hampden: were preparing to embark for America, when Laud, for his own and his master's curse, procured an order of council to stop their departure." They were to be driven to bay, all loopholes being stopped, all escape being prevented. They turned, and at last the hunted became the hunters.

The litigation with Hampden, from the first assessment to the final judgment, had lasted more than three years; and ship-money was paid less willingly after the judgment, than even while the suit against John Hampden was yet undecided. Passive resistance, when it takes the shape of a general "We won't pay," is very effective. The king needed money; for effectual collection of money he must have a Parliament. London would lend money if a Parliament were summoned, none without; and at last, on the 13th of April, 1640, King Charles's fourth Parliament was assembled, and in this our Oliver Cromwell sat as Member for Cambridge. The duration of this Parliament was of the briefest; it is known as the "Short Parliament," for—not *providing money* for the king with sufficient rapidity, and

providing protest against the Hampden judgment, and criticism against Strafford much too freely—it was dismissed "in a huff, on the 5th of May, after a session of three weeks." Charles I. resolved to get his money without the aid of Parliament, but could not. Ship-money was enforced with greater rigour than before, and brought less profit. Sheriffs who would not levy the tax were fined and imprisoned, but even these fines were not always paid. Loans were asked for, and citizens preferred committal to prison to lending to the king. Merchants' bullion was seized in the mint, and debased coin issued. But all these expedients failed. The king still needed money; London would lend £200,000, but only on condition that a Parliament should be summoned; and, accordingly, on the 3rd of November, 1640, there assembled at Westminster the most notable of all the Parliaments that St. Stephen's has ever known, the "Long Parliament." Instead of being dissolved by the king, it ultimately resolved the king's dissolution. It created a Frankenstein monster in its army, which, at last, under Colonel Pride, weeded out its strength with an array of pikes for weed-hooks. It was driven away by angry Oliver Cromwell, but claimed not to be dissolved, and as "the Rump" Parliament it appeared once more to act as usher-in for the restoration of the pious and virtuous Charles II. In this fifth Parliament, Oliver Cromwell again sits as Member for Cambridge, and now gets notice from friend and foe. The friendly words have struggled through the Restoration period with much difficulty; the hostile comments are thick and strong. Thomas Carlyle quotes from Philip Warwick, doubly returned, to sit for Romney and Radnor, but who preferred the latter borough: "I came into the House one morning, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill-country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size; *his sword stuck close to his side;* his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." The trait of Cromwell here, which marks the man, is in the seven words, "his sword stuck close to his side." The sceptre of Cromwell was his sword: his sword *was his tongue,* his pen. Cromwell's will, and Cromwell's

sword were alike of a metal which bent little and cut through everything. Lord Clarendon would make out that our Oliver Cromwell, as a young Member, was a blusterer, whose "carriage" was "tempestuous," and "behaviour" "insolent:" and this, even in private committee, where Clarendon alleges that Cromwell replied to Lord Mandevil "with much indecency and rudeness," and in "contrary and offensive" language. It is so easy for a plain man to be rude and indecent to a lord. Our English lords are not to be mauled with rough hands, or pelted with rough words. We have a bankrupt Duke of Newcastle and a bankrupt George Odger. No well-trained mind would think of using the same harsh phrases to the well-housed Duke of Newcastle, in his Clumber Castle palace, that might be fittingly applied to the needy Radical shoemaker, in his poor Bloomsbury home. It is "contrary and offensive" language, even now, to suggest that princes, who live on the country, owe service to it; and I am prepared to admit that Oliver Cromwell, in Parliamentary debate, might have been "contrary," "offensive," "indecent," and "rude," but blusterer he was most surely none. Bluster is the wind-bag weapon of the weak man; the warrior who wears and handles a mace never fights with an air-bladder as his arm of offence. Cowards bluster—those who from the rear shout "Forward," and from a safe distance, and in a crowd, cry "Down with him." But a man like Cromwell, a real man, whose "sword was stuck close to his side," who rode at the head of his troop; who, when the forlorn hope was repulsed, and he was general, went himself "at push of pike" into the breach; he was no blusterer.

The Long Parliament began its work well. It declared ship-money illegal; it annulled the judgment against Hampden; it declared that no tax could be levied on exports or imports, save by common consent in Parliament; it made Parliaments triennial; it abolished the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and several other arbitrary and irregular tribunals; it denied the king's right of impressment for military service; it voted that bishops should not sit in the House of Lords; it impeached and brought Strafford to the block, Charles being cowardly enough to sacrifice his minister as a scapegoat; and on the very day that Strafford's death-warrant was signed, it enacted that this Parliament *should not* be dissolved without its own consent. *To get money, the* king assented to this Bill, which in the

end proved his death-warrant too. There was some talk even of a Puritan Ministry, with the Earl of Bedford as chief, and Pym, Hampden, and Holles in the Cabinet; but this talk ended in worse than nothing; it only irritated the men, and widened the breach. These Puritans wanted Parliamentary Government; Charles Stuart wanted to be despot, riding England with Parliament as his riding whip. At last, on the 4th of January, 1641, Charles I. determines to stop the daring of Parliament by a blow which shall terrify the most audacious. Pym, Hazelrig, Holles, Strode, and Hampden have been over-daring in their speech, and these the king will punish. So to the House of Commons with a strong armed force enters the king—the Earl of Roxburgh holding open the doors of the House—to seize with his own hands the famous five. But they are no longer in the House. A friendly word of warning had gone before to notify the coming of his angry majesty, and Hampden and the four others are safely within the City walls, where, indeed, all Parliament goes for protection next day, to "consider and advise how to right the House in point of privilege, broken by the king's coming yesterday with a force to take Members of our House." The Parliament, threatened with the sword, takes up the sword to protect itself, and yet with a show of profound reverence for royal authority. It asks the king for permission to raise a militia; it raises the militia without consent, when the request is denied. It vests the command of the militia in persons to be appointed by Parliament, and it prays for the custody of the Tower and other strong places. Its prayer refused, it takes all it can, backing its respectful request with pike, broadsword, and battering ram. And now Oliver Cromwell comes to the front! It is time. He offers to lend £300 to aid the Parliament in reducing the Irish rebellion; he sends down arms to Cambridge; he commences to organise troop 67; he seizes the magazine at Cambridge Castle; and he has prevented the king from getting the University plate, value some £20,000. The king, unhindered by the Parliament, as yet too reverent to touch his sacred majesty's person—has fled from Whitehall to York, on the way gathering an army round him. The queen and the crown jewels have been sent away, to negotiate foreign aid and to raise money abroad.

*There is now* civil war, not as of old, between rival pretendants for the throne, but of the army of the king and Parlia-

ment, against the army of the king. High treason, and yet not enough of Republican spirit to shape the treason into war against monarchy. A strange civil war, in which there are many Parliament men who do not hope to win, many who do not desire to win, and many who do not deserve to win. Captain Cromwell grows daily in his strength, and is soon first in the Cambridge county, and then the eastern counties are associated for common defence, and Cromwell gradually takes the lead; no bigger, braver, or wiser captain being there to stand in front. When there is some defeat, and much terror, Cromwell is firm and unreceding. When lawless troops, in the name of Parliament, do as much wrong to friends as to foes, Cromwell is a stern and strict captain. When cold friends will not find food, forage, and pay for the "God-fearing" "Ironsides," Cromwell's sword pens the requisition which knows no evasion, and must be fully complied with. Cromwell seems daily to grow conscious of his augmenting power, and to play cautiously for more authority: and yet I stand with Cromwell. To re-quote the words attributed to Lord Chatham: "There was ambition, there was sedition, there was violence, but no man shall persuade me that it was not the cause of liberty on the one side, and of tyranny on the other." Lieutenant-Colonel Cromwell is busying himself in fortifying the town of Cambridge against Prince Rupert, in levying "freewill contributions" for the good cause, and in seizing "malignants'" horses; busying himself, too, in riding hard and striking hard, as the need arises, until the Colonel Cromwell is chief of the seven associated counties, with a large force of well-ordered men; "not a man swears but he pays his twelvepence; no plundering, no drinking, disorder, or impiety allowed." Lord Essex, the Lieutenant-General, grows less, and Colonel Cromwell grows greater, until the big fight comes at Winceby, where, "within half-pistol shot, his horse was killed under him at the first charge, and fell down upon him, and, as he rose up, he was knocked down again by the gentleman who charged him.....but afterwards he recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands, and bravely mounted himself again," and rides to victory.

Puritan Cromwell is now Governor of Ely; the Cathedral Service does not please him, and so he writes to the Reverend Mr. Hitch, "Lest the soldiers should in any tumultuous or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the *Cathedral Church*, I require you to forbear altogether your

choir-service." Cromwell's will is to be law to Mr. Hitch, even in the regulation of the Ely Cathedral Choristers. The Reverend Mr. Hitch disregarding, next Sunday in walks Oliver Cromwell, his hat on his head, a force at his back, and with a "Leave off your fooling, and come down, Sir," he dismisses poor Mr. Hitch from his pulpit, just as a few years later he dismisses Speaker Lenthall from the House of Commons. The Lieutenant-General Cromwell, early in 1644, finds time to appear in Parliament to complain of my Lord Willoughby, a Parliament General, but one not too well-inclined to see the Parliament over-much-succeeding against the king, and who has "strangely dissolute people about him." And a little later, to Major-General Crawford, the Lieutenant-General Cromwell delivers a sharp reprimand, because Crawford has discountenanced an "anabaptist" Lieutenant-Colonel: "Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself.....Take heed of being too sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little, but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion." And still a little later—with the extra glory of Marston fight giving further force to his authority—Oliver Cromwell rebukes the Ely Committee for having released some prisoners who had been arrested by some of Cromwell's officers, and forthwith has the released men re-arrested by the warrant of his (Cromwell's) will. The newer soldiers, especially those with strong convictions on religious matter, all inclined to Cromwell. "The man," Baillie says, "is a very wise and active head, universally well-beloved, as religious and stout, being a known Independent, and most of the soldiers who love new ways, put themselves under his command."

After the second battle of Newbury, on October 27th, 1644, there was strife between Oliver Cromwell and his superior officer, the Earl of Manchester. The latter, it was alleged, "does not want to press the king too hard, will not pursue after a victory, does not even wish to fight;" and in December we find Cromwell in Parliament declaring that "it is now a time to speak, or forever to hold the tongue," and urging in effect that these Earls of Essex and Manchester are poor shiftless things, with which it will be *indeed difficult to* save a nation from ruin. While on the

other side it is contended that the firebrand Cromwell has openly avowed that "there never would be a good time in England until we had done with Lords;" and still worse, that "if he met the king in battle, he would fire his pistol at the king as at another." The Scots Commissioners, fearful of Cromwell's growing influence and bold speech, want to learn "whether there be not ground to prosecute Cromwell as an incendiary;" but Cromwell has already too many "Ironsides" to make such a prosecution desirable. And now Lords Essex and Manchester are got out of the army with soft words and flattering distinctions. Sir Thomas Fairfax is Lord-General, and Cromwell is scarcely second.

The self-denying ordinance—which took from all Members of both Houses of Parliament their commands in the army and their civil employments—would, if it had been strictly carried out, have deprived Cromwell of his military position; but Prince Rupert is to be attacked, and who shall be relied on to do it save Oliver Cromwell? Accordingly, "forty days' leave" for his continuance in command being granted, he routs convoys, captures strong houses, and goes on so victoriously, that the leave is renewed for "three months," and at last the "self-denying ordinance" is dispensed with, at least in this case, and the Lieutenant-General Cromwell still remains M.P. for Cambridge.

And now the attempt at any treaty at Uxbridge having failed, the king and Parliament come again to blows on the 14th of June, 1645, when Naseby fight brought Charles and Cromwell very close indeed, and the king's majesty fled. For a moment the daring Rupert seems likely to win, but his cavaliers are better thieves than soldiers, and staying to plunder after their first dashing charge, lose their vantage; and then stern Cromwell, whose "Ironsides" never plunder, drives away Prince Rupert's troopers into disastrous defeat.

Through 1645 and 1646, we find Cromwell continually fighting and growing stronger, capturing Bristol and various strong places, battering forts, and personally doing daring deeds, with a tinge of fierceness, which made his name feared, until the king surrenders to the Scots, and is by the Scottish leaders traded away to the Parliament. Now comes complication of quarrel; Parliament has not only to fight the king, but is also divided against itself; one party thinks the king low enough, the other section would push the man Charles Stuart still harder, even though he fell too low to rise again. With the latter goes the army; with the first

ranks the city. City and Parliament Presbyterians would fain disband the army, which has grown too potent through its victories, and at last has marched much too near to London. The army requires its arrears of pay, insists on its "old commanders," and begins to rank itself a power in the State. The king, high with hope, plays army against Parliament, and Scots Commissioners against both. The army appoints "agents," or "adjutators," from each regiment, and Cromwell, though he sits in Parliament, and does not openly side with the growing malcontent spirit, is evidently more inclined to count upon the sword than upon the tongue, and declares to Ludlow that "these men will never leave until the army pull them out by the ears." The army petitions, and marches nearer London, and now the Lieutenant-General Cromwell goes to Saffron Waldron to see "the army disbanded," which does not disband, but, on the contrary, and probably by Cromwell's connivance, seizes the person of the king, not altogether too unwilling to be so seized. There is some thought in Parliament to arrest Cromwell, but no opportunity. He now plainly sides with the army, and it marches still nearer London, and demands not only its arrears of pay, and redress of other grievances, but claims also "a settlement of the peace of the kingdom, and of the liberties of the subject." On the one side Presbyterian Parliament and London; on the other, the army, drawing closer to the city walls, with Oliver Cromwell its real commander, and with the king in its midst, his majesty vainly hoping that the contending parties may destroy each other, leaving him the master. Hallam says that the royalists "seem never to have comprehended that many active spirits looked to the entire subversion of the monarchy. The king, in particular, was haunted by a prejudice, natural to his obstinate and undiscerning mind, that he was necessary to the settlement of the nation." Nor was Cromwell, nor were his followers, irrevocably hostile to the king. Soon after the capture of the king by Cornet Joyce and his troopers, they declared, "we do not see how there can be any peace to this kingdom, firm or lasting, without a due provision for the rights, quiet, and immunity of his majesty." Unfortunately for himself, Charles Stuart irritated even the portion of the army well disposed to him by his utter deceitfulness.

For a little time there is compromise between the Presbyterian and Independent factions, and an effort is made to

limit the duration of the Parliament by its own vote, in which effort Oliver Cromwell is beaten by a small majority only. The king keeps a sort of prisoner's state in Hampton Court Palace, which serves as a not unpleasant gaol, until all negotiations fall through, and on the 11th of November, 1647, he absconds from Hampton Court. His Majesty's flight had been hastened by the discovery—through the interception of letters to the queen—of the worse than double part that his insincere kingship was playing. The army had been provoked at the notion that they had been tricked by the king. Fifth-monarchy men began to menace the king's person; and in the army the levelling spirit, which had threatened Parliament, turned also, for an instant, its angriness against Oliver Cromwell, who quickly, and without mercy, trampled out the mutinous spirit, the leader being shot as a warning to prevent other want of discipline.

The king is a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. The Scotch, who not long since delivered him into bonds, now march, or threaten to march, into England, to obtain his majesty's release. The very hope encourages Presbyterian royalism in Wales, which bursts out in royalist risings; but Cromwell burns one place, starves another, and generally terrifies the Welshmen into quiescence; even if he does not win them to the complete abandonment of the now utterly-ruined monarchy. The Scotch threatening is at last real invasion. Duke Hamilton has crossed the border with heavy forces, and is coming southward, Preston way, with a huge and straggling army stretching miles backward, like some unwieldy serpent. Cromwell, hurrying out of Wales, and over the Lancashire and Cheshire hills, throws himself on this Londonwards marching army, breaks its back, stamps on its tail, and pounds its fangs into impotence. With the rout at Preston commence the funereal ceremonies for Charles Stuart; to be delayed for a scant space, while in his turn Oliver Cromwell crosses the Scottish border in pursuit of Hamilton's broken men; but coming to an end at Whitehall on the 29th of January, 1649.

The theory of divine-right rule was exploded for ever in England on that day. The divinity which doth hedge around a king proved no barrier to the headsman's axe. There had been an effort in the Presbyterian Parliament to save the king, and, in December, a majority of 129 against 83 had voted that "his majesty's concessions in the treaty of Newport are a ground of settlement." On the second day

after this vote, on the 6th of December, 1648, Colonel Pride's regiment of foot paraded under arms in Westminster Hall, and Colonel Rich's regiment of horse stood in the Palace Yard outside. Pride's purge is applied to the House of Commons. Those who are against the army, may not go in, but must get them gone. The sword is stronger than the law. Lieutenant-General Cromwell has hurried up to town: the minority has become majority, and Charles Stuart is "convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason." Here it is not fair matter to discuss regicide at any length; killing kings is poor work and useless work. Republics are not created by carving off the head of a monarch; they can only grow gradually in the development of peoples into a grandeur of stature higher than tinsel kingcraft knows. Regicide is weak work, for it is mostly the vengeance of an indignant people, for a wrong which was only possible while that people participated or acquiesced in the perpetuation of the wrong. I am against beheading kings, as a matter of policy; it is only chipping off an unimportant morsel of the monarchy; but I am still more against killing kings, as a matter of principle, for I object entirely to capital punishment. Punishment can only be lawful—that is, moral; that is, useful—when it has for its end and aim the prevention of the recurrence of crime, not only in the criminal, but also in the society to which the individual culprit belongs. Punishment which is only vengeance for past offence is itself crime, and it brutalises those by whom, and amongst whom, the vengeance is carried out. I am against killing kings, for I am against the right of society to take human life; but while capital punishment obtains in any country, I know no reason that the headsman's axe should be blunted and turned from a king's neck. The law should see no distinction of person in any citizen, unless, indeed, it tempers itself with tenderness to the poor-born, the weak, the starved, and the ignorant. I do not understand the cant of warped humanity, which sheds a tear for the royal martyr, and has, nevertheless, dry eyes for the scores of thousands, whom the royal murderer pushed to death and ruin by his crime, his folly, or his impotence.

On the 19th of May, 1649, it is solemnly declared that England is "A commonwealth or free state, and shall from henceforth be governed as a commonwealth and free state, by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall

appoint and constitute officers and ministers under them for the good of the people, and without any king or House of Lords." Alas! paper decrees do not make commonwealths, and England as yet is hardly full enough of men to continue a government "without any king." An uncrowned king has already commenced to reign by the force of his own grand will. Charles Stuart is indeed dead, but there is not even the hope or shadow of a possible Republic in England. The one-man rule is more potent than ever; but it is now the rule of a real, resolute man, not that of a mere irresolute royally-born puppet; an Oliver Cromwell wields power, not a Charles Stuart. The uncrowned king governs with a steel sceptre, but he governs for England; Charles Stuart misgoverned for the king. Oliver Cromwell is tyrant, not Republican; but his heart is, despite the lust of power, a patriot's heart, and he uses a giant's might to build his country's glory and its strength. He knows no mercy, no toleration, for episcopal royalism, or mass-saying adherents to the monarchy. He is law and judge, and his verdict is fiercely severe.

Poor Ireland was for, and was against, Charles I., and now is nearly all in arms for Charles II. And so in Ireland, the Lord General Cromwell acts with a Puritan mercilessness of judgment against these misguided Papists. The Irish page is a bloody one—"One could pity this poor Irish people; their case is pitiable enough." But Cromwell does not torture the captive, nor strike the fallen. To the foe in arms, and counting high his strength, fierce fight, no truce, no peace, no mercy. To the foe on his knees, abandoning his arms, all manner of protection and fairness, save one—no shadow of toleration for Rome. The freedom of worship, claimed and taken for Independents, was denied to Romanists. "I shall not where I have the power, and the Lord is pleased to bless me, suffer the exercise of the mass where I can take notice of it. No, nor in any way suffer you that are Papists, where I can find you seducing the people." When the Lord General Cromwell landed, nearly all Ireland was united against the Commonwealth, and had declared for the young Charles II. Two cities alone, Dublin and Derry, and they besieged, still held for the Parliament. In less than twelve months Oliver Cromwell had burned and trampled out all resistance, and, save the city of Waterford, had captured in turn every strong place. No plundering, no murder, no violence permitted,

but when the fight comes, and Tredah summoned will not cede, Cromwell himself has to lead the fresh assault: then no mercy, no pity, all the garrison are put to sword. And more than one Tredah in this twelvemonths' history!

"A train of favouring events, more than any deep-laid policy," says Hallam, "had now brought sovereignty within the reach of Cromwell. His first schemes of ambition may probably have extended no farther than a title and an estate, with a great civil and military command in the king's name. Power had fallen into his hands because they alone were fit to wield it; he was taught by every succeeding events his own undeniable superiority over his contemporaries in martial renown, in civil prudence, in decision of character, and in the public esteem which naturally attached to these qualities." And this from Hallam, hostile, it must not be forgotten, to our Cromwell. The wine of power is an intoxicating draught. The taste grows with the drinking. It is easy now to condemn Cromwell for taking power, but who is there who—having dared to lift the glass to his lips when each drop was bitter—would have the courage to turn away the goblet when the hour of triumph came, and the whole contents seemed sweet and pleasant, and the world, with loud shouts, acclaimed the drinking? It requires a hero's might to leave the won prize ungrasped, and this Cromwell was only a man. A grand man, it is true, as men are measured in these peddling days.

Hardly is Ireland roughly smitten into sullen peace before Scotland again calls for similar chastening. Charles II. has there become a covenanted king; has signed a public declaration acknowledging his late father's sins, and his own errors, which he filially puts to the account of evil training. On the 26th of June, 1650, "Oliver Cromwell, Esq., is made Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, by authority of Parliament, within the Commonwealth of England," and in a few more days is on the march to Scotland, where he has to match himself against cool and cautious General David Lesley, who is too strongly intrenched to be attacked safely on his own ground, and who will not leave his chosen lines. Here for nearly two months, with a little poor skirmishing, until Oliver Cromwell and his men get short of supplies, and David Lesley is much worried for his over-caution by kirk committees and royalist civil dignitaries, and battle is given at Dunbar; and on the 3rd of September, 1650, "the Scotch

army is shivered to utter ruin." The day before the battle the Scotch were sure of victory, and Cromwell deemed defeat possible. The fight at Dunbar was not his choice, "we were necessitated," he writes Ireton. The day after the battle his view has changed; he now writes, "the kirk has done their do," and so they had. There is yet more fighting to be done, but it all goes one way. At last, as a desperate effort, the Royalist Scots march southward, carrying with them their young king, and Cromwell hurries after. Through Lancashire, past Shrewsbury to Worcester, where some rest is taken, goes Charles II. Through Northumberland and Yorkshire, and by way of Nottingham, comes Cromwell; and on the 3rd of September, 1651, a year to a day from Dunbar fight, comes the battle of Worcester, where too there is another utter rout, and the young king is a fugitive, without the shadow of an army.

Ten weeks after the battle of Worcester the Long Parliament voted that it would cease to exist on the 3rd of November, 1654. "But why," asks the army, "should there be still three years delay?" And then there are difficulties about the new representation, and on these the army officers and the Parliament are by no means agreed. The army desires to shut out the possibility of a Presbyterian majority, and the Parliament hopes to prevent any other. It is thought by many officers that the Rump Presbyterian Parliament desires to keep its power, and continue its existence. These difficulties grow into dangers, until on the 20th of April, 1653, the Lord-General Cromwell, in plain black, but with a company of musketeers close at hand, goes into the House, and sits him down for about a quarter of an hour, and then, with an "I will put an end to your prating," calls in the musketeers, and dissolves the Parliament by the sole warrant of his will. After a brief two months, by the same warrant of his will, and by no other law, Oliver Cromwell issues his summonses for a National Council, to which come 138, selected by him as members for various counties. This Council, called by some the Little Parliament, by others the Barebones Parliament, is greeted on the 4th of July, 1653, by Oliver Cromwell, in a speech wherein he declares that in the "Act for a Representative," brought forward in the Parliament he had just dissolved, "plainly the intention was, not to give the people a right of choice," but "was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves," and "truly, I say, when we saw all this, having

power in our hands, we could not resolve to let such monstrous proceedings go on." This "Little Parliament" worked vigorously for five months, doing in that time some good service to the State, and then resolved, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that, therefore, it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General Cromwell the powers which we received from him."

On the 16th of December, 1653, "a council of officers, and other persons interested in the nation," nominated Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. "Through a gross and glaring evidence," says Hallam, "of the omnipotence of the army, the instrument under which he took his title accorded to him no unnecessary executive authority. The sovereignty still resided in the Parliament, he had no negative voice in their laws."

On the 4th of September, 1654, was assembled the first Protectorate Parliament duly elected by the nation. This Parliament wants to discuss too freely; for it discusses the very right and authority of the Protector himself; but only for a week, for on the 12th of September the Parliament House is locked up and guarded with soldiers, and the Members are all invited to attend his Highness in the Painted Chamber, and there he, Oliver Cromwell, tells the assembled Commons "that he would sooner be rolled into his grave and buried with infamy" than throw away the Government, and that, until they all acknowledge his position as Lord Protector, he says, "I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the Parliament House." Some submit at once, some more submit to-morrow, some—as Bradshaw, Hazelrig, Thomas Scott, Major Wildman—will not submit at all. Non-submission avails nothing; those who will not submit may have no entrance, no voice, but may get them home, or go whither they will, save into the Parliament House.

The Lord Protector's Government is certainly of the most despotic; but says one, "it makes England more formidable and considerable to all nations than it has ever been in my days." Cromwell looks to Virginia; deals sharply with Spain; refuses to sign the French treaty until some show of justice is done by the Duke of Savoy to the Protestants "of Lucerna, of Perosa, and St. Martin;" and generally marks *himself as a live* head for England.

There are plots against Cromwell's life, a reward is offered by Charles II. of "virtuous life and blessed memory," of £500 a year to any one who by "sword, pistol, or poison," shall kill "the base mechanic fellow, named Oliver Cromwell," and this reward is offered "on the word and faith of a Christian king." There are men too more dangerous, because more honest, who seek Cromwell's life, because they regard his power as paralysing all hope of liberty. And there is a Parliament which has so reluctantly recognised his chieftainship that it cumbers and hinders his Government by its resolutions and red-tape provisions for limiting his authority; so that on the 22nd of January, 1655, Cromwell makes it a last long speech, of which the peroration is: "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for the common and public good, for you to continue here any longer"; and Parliament is dissolved, even before the five calendar months are yet run out during which it is provided that Parliament shall not be dissolved. Cromwell construes the month to be but four weeks, and he wears a sword that would, if need be, measure a hour to have only fifty minutes.

Parliament had voted the Protectorate elective by 200 voices against 60, and although compelled by Cromwell to admit his personal might unquestioned, had resolutely debated and examined every other article of the instrument of Government, under which the Protectorate had been created. Parliament dissolved, Cromwell governs by a pure military despotism, dividing England into ten districts, presided over by Major-Generals, nominated by himself. These Major-Generals levy heavy taxes on disaffected persons, their authority being, that it is by Cromwell's will. Duties on merchandise having been levied in excess of law, by Cromwell's authority, and a Mr. George Cony, on whom the tax had been enforced, having made suit at law against the collector, Cromwell sent Cony's counsel to the Tower, while the Lord Chief Justice Rolle retired from the bench rather than give judgment against the Protector.

And yet after his fashion, and as between individuals, Cromwell dealt out a rude justice, and in all matters other than those which touched the firm maintenance of his Government, was equitable in his dealings as chief-magistrate of the land. He filled the benches with wise and able judges, and, outside the one question of his personal rule, he governed well for the country which he held in the grip

of his iron gauntlet. In all matters, even of minor appointments, he would have his way, and writes to Mr. Secretary Thurloe: "I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or to kneel to, but—to be short—I know how to deny petitions, and whatever I think proper for outward form, to 'refer' to any officer or office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing done."

On the 17th of September, 1656, a fresh Parliament is summoned of about 400 members, and of these Cromwell, against all law, prevents nearly ninety persons from taking their seats. The men excluded have been duly elected, but some are too Republican, some few too Royalist, and Cromwell will have none of them. Under this Parliament the major-general system is abolished with Cromwell's consent, and some slight show of constitutional Government presented. At last, on the 31st of March, 1657, the House of Commons present to Cromwell their petition and advice that his Highness, the Lord Protector, may be pleased to adopt the title "king." Irate major-generals and stern Puritan officers have already remonstrated and urged upon his highness the danger of even seeming to covet any such title. And Cromwell, he will, and he will not, become king. For himself, he is far stronger with the Lord Protector's staff than he would be with the king's sceptre; but then the crown, should he take it, would pass to his son by custom. So he refuses, in view of army opposition, but not too peremptorily, for he still hopes and wishes to wear the crown, if it may be done without too much war with his old Ironside following. In discussing whether or not he shall take the title, he uses no grand thought of right or plea of duty; it is a shambling, hesitating, argument, with none of the thoroughness of Cromwell in it. "I suppose it will have to stand on its expediency," he says, and so it does, and being judged by Cromwell to be not expedient, is at last refused On the 8th of May his Highness says: "I cannot undertake this Government with the title of king," and so keeps the Government as Protector, with such new advantages and stipulations as Parliament sees fit to give and make; and on the 26th of June, 1657, Oliver Cromwell, now more formally recognised as Protector by the English Parliament, is solemnly installed in his Protectorship, in Westminster Hall, with grand State ceremony, and Parliament is prorogued

until January, 1658, when it meets again with two Houses as of old, Lords and Commons. But into the Commons House now the excluded Members may (by terms of the Petition and Advice) enter if they will but take the oath, and they, or at least some of them, do take the oath, and entering range themselves in sturdy opposition. For ten days there is discontented debate in Parliament, with at least the echoings of disaffection outside; and on the 4th of February, therefore, Oliver Cromwell makes his last speech to the two Houses, saying: "You have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole nation.....it hath not only been your endeavour to pervert the army while you have been sitting, but some of you have been listing of person by commission of Charles Stuart to join with any insurrection that may be made. And what is likely to come upon this, the enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion?.....And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament! And let God be judge between you and me." And now for a brief seven months governs alone again Oliver Cromwell, and on the 3rd of September, 1658, dies.

Oliver Cromwell dead, the Protectorate was dead too. It had never been a Government created by the people, it was the work of one resolute man. During the storm-strife provoked by Charles Stuart's arrogant imbecility, Cromwell had taken the helm of the State ship, and had navigated her, roughly but safely, through tempest, fury, and dangerous passages. But he had allowed none other of the crew to study navigation, nor to share with him the piloting; and when the rudder slipped from his hand, palsied by death, the poor Protectorate bark drifted to wreck, because none had been trained to fill his place. Cromwell's was a one-man rule, a pure despotism. Two thousand years earlier he would have been carried into Rome on the shields of his soldiers, and saluted "Imperator." Cromwell was no Republican; but he was a grand Englishman, who pushed to the front by virtue of his sturdy thoroughness, and who did mighty service for the nation whose authority he took, whose power he wielded. One with whom he dealt roughly said of him: "One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell, though contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed *to that* venerable body from whom he received his

authority, he usurped the functions of Government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions; he had under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general." The author of a fine history of "Democracy," recently published in Massachusetts, describes Cromwell as "hypocrite in his religion, a fanatic in his politics, and a despot in his rule." That he was "a despot in his rule," is true; that he was a "fanatic in his politics," I see no evidence. Clearly a monarchist, he trampled on the monarchy and accepted a Government without a king; was content with a Protectorate with one chamber, equally content with a Protectorate with two chambers. Having overthrown the king, would have accepted himself the kingly title, had it not been for the dangerous opposition of men who were alike fanatics in politics and religion. Whether Cromwell was, or was not, a "hypocrite in religion," is harder perhaps to decide, and I may not be the best one to express an opinion. Many great leaders have professed themselves God-sent, and even I, who would always regard such a profession as utterly untrue in fact, am not prepared to say that the utterer is necessarily a hypocrite. Hindostan gave us recently a great leader claiming to be god-sent. The Moslem, twelve centuries ago, had his Mohammed. That Cromwell was a "fanatic" in his religion is, I think, more easily proveable; and that he was, at any rate, in the last eleven years of his life "a hypocrite" in his politics, is, I think, capable of demonstration. But, despite all this, he was a man of huger stature and of mightier will than any other who lived in his age. He made the haughty Spaniard bend; forced Mazarin to be tender to Piedmontese Protestants; compelled the sturdy Dutchman to admit England's supremacy; and made his brief page of power dazzling with the glory of his grand rule. He died, and the night of his life was without starlight; his grave without honour afforded no shelter to his bones. A people whom he had overmastered became again willing servants to the dynasty he had expelled. Sole ruler of his race, his sceptre fell as his coffin was lowered. The might of his manhood had offshoot in no breast. The Captain is dead, and the wind and waves urge the helpless ship to ruin, for amongst the crew none dares take his place.

## II.—WASHINGTON.

On the 22nd of February, 1732, nearly three-quarters of a century after the death of Cromwell, George Washington was born at the family homestead on Bridges Creek, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River. Washington was the offspring of a royalist family of estate and position, and his early associations with the friends and relatives of Lord Fairfax were calculated to increase his feeling of reverence for Monarchical and aristocratic traditions. When yet only nineteen years of age, George Washington was appointed Major and Adjutant-General of the Virginian Militia, and before he was twenty-two was charged with a most difficult and dangerous mission to those of the Indians and French then united in arms against the English Colonists, and also to the tribes of Indians who had not yet committed themselves to open hostilities. In this mission he exhibited much prudence, firmness, and devotion, coupled with admirable tact and self-possession.

In April, 1754, Washington fought his first battle with a small French force; and writing to his brother in the flush of the excitement, says how he "heard the bullets whistle." His first campaign ended most disastrously, his command having, after hard fighting, to surrender to a very superior force; but Washington received, nevertheless, the thanks of the House of Burgesses of Virginia for the bravery he exhibited.

In 1755 a great expedition, under General Braddock, having been organised against the Indians, Washington's talents were utilised by the English commander, who appointed Washington as a volunteer aide-de-camp, but only partially adopted the advice given by the young Virginian. The utter disregard by Braddock of part of Washington's information was attended by most fatal consequences; for the English general led his troops into an ambuscade of Indians *and Frenchmen*, against which he had been warned,

where the English regulars were literally cut to pieces, and Braddock himself was mortally wounded. In this sad business Washington distinguished himself alike for his courage, his modesty, and his wisdom; and when, a little later, the Colony of Virginia raised special forces to defend its boundaries against attacks from the French and Indians, Washington was, with the full assent of his countrymen, appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial forces (somewhat against the wish of Governor Dinwiddie, who behaved with coldness and ungraciousness to the Virginian militia-man). The position of the young Commander-in-Chief was further embarrassed, by the fact that any officer holding a commission from the king refused to obey orders from an officer whose commission was only signed by the Governor; and we find Washington journeying to Boston in the hope to get himself and officers put upon the regular establishment, with commissions direct from King George III. It is useless now to speculate on what might have been the result on Washington's military future had his request been complied with. Luckily for the struggles for independence, his demand in this respect was refused. Theodore Parker, speaking of his severity as a military disciplinarian at this period, says: "From natural disposition, he loved the exercise of power. But he was singularly careful to defer to the civil authority when possible. If the right was doubtful, the conscientious young soldier left it to be exercised by the magistrate, not by the military arm. This is to be noted, because it is so rare for military men to abstain from tyranny." Washington's position was a very painful one; he had to defend a wide-stretching frontier against a wily and savage enemy, and this with an utterly inadequate force, badly supplied with munitions of war. He was thwarted and snubbed by Governor Dinwiddie, and nearly all his requests for necessaries in the conduct of military operations were disregarded. Washington's health entirely broke down under these varied annoyances, and he ultimately resigned his position. Having been elected to the House of Burgesses of Virginia, he took his seat in 1759, being greeted on his entry to the Legislature by the special thanks of the House for the services he had rendered. To these thanks Washington could make no reply; his talents were not those of the orator. Self-possessed in face of danger, he was unnerved amidst his friends by the praise thus publicly *tendered to him.*

In the House of Burgesses George Washington was not, therefore, at first a conspicuous figure, save as the soldier who had earned its thanks prior to his installation. There is, however, a storm rising through the land which shall so endanger the liberties of the citizens, and excite their wrath, that a man of Washington's stature cannot long be overlooked. The Navigation Laws enforced by England against the Colonies had entirely excluded the Colonists from trade with foreign countries; had subjected the trade between the various Colonies to heavy duties, and had either totally prohibited, or imposed prohibitory restraints on, all Colonial manufactures thought likely to interfere with the manufacturing interests of the mother country. Much discontent and dissatisfaction had been produced, especially in New England, by the operation of the Navigation Laws; and in 1760 this feeling of discontent was aggravated by an attempt made in Boston to collect, under writs of assistance, duties on foreign sugar and molasses, which had been smuggled into Massachusetts. Those writs of assistance were resisted before the law courts as unconstitutional, the question being argued so eloquently by the famous James Otis, that it is said that all his hearers went away ready to take up arms to resist the enforcement of such writs. The litigation on these writs of assistance was really the first potent step in the struggle for independence—the beginning of the great American Republic.

At the conclusion of the French war, the most active efforts were made by the British men-of-war, acting under stringent orders from the Home Government, to suppress the clandestine trade theretofore carried on with the Spanish Colonies. To this the New England men replied by resolving not to purchase British fabrics, and the home trade was in consequence much diminished.

In 1764 the ill-advised Ministry of George III. sought to levy taxes in the Colonies, and in 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed. Washington, who had hitherto been a devoted royalist, and had shown himself submissive to all the procedures of the Home Government, now denounces "this unconstitutional method of taxation." The resistance to the Stamp Act was so great that it was repealed on the 18th of March, 1766; and Washington then writes that all "who were instrumental in procuring the repeal are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially." So that in the spring of 1766 Washington not only

regarded himself as a British subject, but actually raised no objection—perhaps saw no objection—to the clause of the repealing act—so much impeached by Henry, Otis, Franklin, and the Adamses—which declared that "the king, with the consent of Parliament, had power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the Colonies and people of America, in all cases whatsoever." Those who contended for principles in America still protested against this clause, but Washington took no part in the protest. He remained quietly at Mount Vernon attending to his plantation. Year by year the attitude of the Home Government grew more menacing, and the dissatisfaction in the Colonies grew more marked. In 1767 a variety of duties were enacted for collection in the Colonies. To prepare for a possible struggle "armed negotiators," in the shape of two regiments, were sent from England to Boston to protect the Commissioners of Customs. The inhabitants of the Bay State City resolved, in towns' meeting, that the king had no right to send troops thither without the consent of the Assembly, and quarters were refused to the troops, who were thereupon billeted in the State House, in Faneuil Hall, and other public buildings. The resistance offered in Massachusetts encouraged others. Washington in 1769 writes to his friend George Mason: "At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question. That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment, in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion; yet arms should be the last resource."

In 1769, on the proposition of Washington, the burgesses of Virginia—following the example of the northern Colonies—pledged themselves neither to import nor use any goods, merchandise, or manufactures taxed by Parliament. Washington adhered rigorously to this, and strictly enjoined his London agent not to ship him anything subject to taxation.

In 1770 Lord North became Prime Minister in England, and he abandoned all the duties levied in 1767, save one, the right to a tax on tea, which he reserved, "to maintain the Parliamentary right of taxation." "A total repeal," he said, "*cannot* be thought of till America is prostrate at our

feet." This tea tax, if it had been collected, would have produced not quite £300 a year. England spent £139,521,035 in the vain endeavour to enforce the tax!!

EARLY in 1773 Lord Dunmore was appointed Governor of Virginia, and despite the hostile feeling arising between the Colonists and the Government, Washington appears to have been on the most friendly and intimate terms with the Court Party, until the arrival in Virginia of the news of the monstrously mad and vindictive policy adopted by Lord North—a policy which it is now clear was actually strongly urged and enforced by George III.—by which the port of Boston was to be closed and its commerce entirely ruined. The whole of Massachusetts determined to stand by Boston, and the query now was, Would the other Colonies stand by Massachusetts? Washington offered to "raise one thousand men, and subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." General Gage had encamped his infantry and artillery on Boston Common, and the cry went round the whole country to break off all intercourse with Great Britain, until the colony was restored to full enjoyment of all its rights; and further, to renounce all dealings with those on this American side, who should refuse to enter into a similar compact. On the 18th of July, 1774, a meeting was held in Fairfax County, at which a committee was appointed, with Washington as chairman, to draw up resolutions, which state first the illegal conduct of the British Government; covenant not to import or hold intercourse with England or any colony, town, or province refusing to agree to the plan adopted by the General Congress; then recommend a petition to the king, "lamenting the necessity of entering into measures that might be displeasing; declaring their attachment to his person, family, and Government, and their desire to continue in dependence upon Great Britain." The attachment to the person of "mad George" may be passed by as a phrase of fashion, and even when we remember that his family included the lustful and lying George IV., the corrupt and brutal Duke of York, the niggardly and paltry William IV., and the bestially immoral Duke of Cumberland, it must not be forgotten that the "family" was then very young, and the "attachment" was probably for the good qualities which the Royal Family might have manifested had their lives been reversed, and their vices passed for virtues.

On the 3rd of September, 1774, a General Congress of

fifty-one deputies, delegated from the various Colonies, assembled at Philadelphia (Georgia alone being unrepresented). It was from this Congress that the famous address was sent to England which won such high praise from the lips of Chatham. On his return from this Congress, the eloquent Patrick Henry was asked whom he considered the greatest amongst the men assembled there. He replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor." Even yet Washington—irritated as he and his friends had become by aristocratic misrule—had no sort of disposition to advocate any separation from the mother country. Writing to Captain Mackenzie as to Independence, he says: "I am well satisfied that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America."

It is worthy notice that the struggle in England, out of which Cromwell grew into power, and that in America, which ended in the elevation of Washington to the chief magistrature, had each its inception in the denial of the right claimed by the king and his ministers to levy taxes without the consent of the taxed. It was not, says Washington, "against paying the duty of 3d. per pound on tea..... No, it is the right only that we have all along disputed." Although Washington appears to have been opposed to some of the extreme measures of resistance advocated by a strong party of the Eastern men, yet so soon as a definite course was resolved upon, he went loyally with the majority; and he wrote to his brother, "It is my full intention, if needful, to devote my life and fortune to the cause."

The crisis soon came; General Gage detached a body of regular troops to destroy some provincial military stores at Concord, Massachusetts. At Lexington Green these troops fired on the local yeomanry, and before night a large body of English troops had been literally chased into the City of Boston by the "minute men," who ran, gun in hand, from their industries, to revenge the blood recklessly shed on the road to Concord. The Massachusetts yeomen, in their indignation, blockaded the English army within the limits of Boston, and the second Philadelphia Congress shortly afterwards appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief of the insurgent army, now assembled in front of the *Bay State City*. Washington—who had in no fashion sought

the appointment, and whose nomination had been unanimous—when he accepted the position, added: "But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I declare that I do not consider myself equal to the command I am honoured with. As to pay, I beg leave to assure Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge, and this is all I desire." Adams, in a letter written at the moment, praises highly the conduct of Washington, "a gentleman of one of the fairest fortunes upon the Continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country. His views are noble and disinterested."

There is a tree at Cambridge—an old elm—where it is noted that Washington assumed his high command; and the first time I halted under the tree I tried hard to picture to myself the variously accoutred, roughly-dressed, badly-armed array of agriculturists which had so shut into Boston the well-drilled, well-armed, and highly-trained regular troops of the British Monarchy. The great fight at Bunker Hill—in which the gallant though unsuccessful attempt to fortify a position which would have commanded every portion of the City had shown the sturdy stuff of these New England "minute" men—had taken place prior to Washington's assumption of command. What army he found was to him very disappointing. Tired of merely watching the British forces, many of the newly-enrolled troops had returned to their farms, which sorely needed cultivation; and instead of 20,000 men supposed to be in camp, Washington only found there about 14,000 fit for service, and many of these without muskets or ammunition. The only troops presenting any appearance of drill or fair equipment were those from the small colony of Rhode Island. Theodore Parker says: "The camp was full of jealousies, rivalries, resentments, petty ambitions; men thinking much for themselves, little for their imperilled nation." Washington desired to force General Howe into general action, but, on taking stock of the gunpowder in the stores, found that the whole supply of powder would not provide nine cartridges *per man*.

In the American, or "Continental," army, as it was called, there were many divisions of opinion and interest. Some of the New England officers were personally indisposed to co-operate with the Virginian gentleman, whom they found much too aristocratic for their home-spun fancies. To quote the words of Washington himself: "Confusion and discord existed in every department, which in a little time must have ended either in the separation of the army, or fatal contests with one another." While Washington was organising his troops, and slowly obtaining for them the necessary military equipment, he had the constant fear that the British army might be able to take advantage of the disorganisation in the newly-raised levies he commanded. But General Gage and General Howe were content, while waiting for reinforcements, to thunder away from Bunker Hill batteries, while keeping their troops within their own works; the Americans, from want of powder, making but scant reply to the noisy cannonade.

The delay in the siege produced many embarrassments. Men who were brave enough in a fight would not patiently wait, doing nothing, in front of this fortified city, while their farms went to ruin. Enlisted for one year only, many would not re-enlist at all. Those who did manifest willingness to re-enlist would only serve under officers of their own choice; and men from one Colony, as Connecticut, would not serve under Rhode Island officers. In a letter written at this juncture Washington says: "I find we are likely to be deserted at a most critical time.....Our situation is truly alarming.....Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command." It must not be forgotten that the position of the men was not of the most enviable kind. "The first burst of revolutionary zeal had passed away; enthusiasm had been chilled by the inaction and monotony of a long encampment." No regular commissariat, and nearly all comforts absent. "The troops had suffered privations of every kind—want of fuel, clothing, provisions. They looked forward with dismay to the rigours of winter, and longed for their rustic homes and family firesides." Throughout the Colonies much more was expected from Washington than he was able to perform, his available force was over-rated, and his motives for inaction mis-construed. "I know," writes Washington on the 10th of *February, 1776,* "the unhappy predicament I stand in; I

know that much is expected from me; I know that, without men, without arms, without ammunition, without anything fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done, and, what is mortifying, I know that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own weakness, and injuring the cause by declaring my wants; which I am determined not to do further than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them.....My own situation is so irksome to me at times that, if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put everything on the cast of a die. So far from my having an army of 20,000 men well armed, I have been here with less than half that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers.....To have the eyes of the whole Continent fixed with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation for want of the necessary means of carrying it on, is not very pleasing, especially as the means used to conceal my weakness from the enemy conceal it also from our friends."

Ultimately, as every one knows, the regular army of England evacuated Boston, beleagured by "an undisciplined band of husbandmen," and General Howe and his well-equipped legions sought safety in the warships from the persevering advances of Washington to the reduction of the Bay State City.

Convinced that "no accommodation could be effected with Great Britain, on acceptable terms," and that "a protracted war was inevitable," Washington now sought to force upon Congress the need for enlisting an army disposable for the whole war, and available in any portion of the continent. While his energetic remonstrances produced some improvements, there was still much left to be desired. The base of operations was changed from Massachusetts to New York State. Now, to a much larger degree, than when near Boston, Washington felt the effects of treachery; one plot nearly cost him his life, his very body-guards having been corrupted. Those who were the most willing agents of Monarchy and Toryism were found amongst the Quaker families, one of which, for its cowardly rascality, still receives from the British Government a pension of £4,000 a year.

On the 4th of July, 1776, Independence was declared in words; but a severe reverse, sustained by Washington on Long Island, made many persons despair of its realisation. The troops he had under him in this campaign were very ill-equipped. "Many of the yeomen of the country, hastily summoned from the plough, were destitute of arms, in lieu of which they were ordered to bring with them a shovel, spade, or pickaxe, or a scythe straightened and fastened to a pole." The effect of the defeat on Long Island was shown in the wholesale return to their farms in Connecticut alone of more than 4,000 men. Despite all this, Washington always presented a firm face to the enemy, even when himself nearly heart-broken, by the disregard of his entreaties by Congress, and by the indisposition shown by the several Colonial Governments to second his exertions, and comply with his requirements.

In September, 1776, the difficulties of his position, and the defection of some of his troops, seem to have rendered Washington desperate, and in some of the frays he risked his life needlessly. His natural calm, however, soon returned, and though evidently very doubtful as to the possibility of ultimate victory, he now recommenced those series of careful manœuvres which so embarrassed the English and German generals to whom he was opposed. General Washington had the danger of his position considerably heightened by the conduct of General Lee and General Gates. The first a brave and ambitious soldier, who aspired to the chief command, and who regarded Washington's star as on the wane, actually withheld reinforcements from Washington's crippled forces, when the latter was retreating through the Jerseys after the British successes at Fort Washington. The second (Gates) about the same time pleaded ill-health as an excuse for avoiding a command, so that he might go to Philadelphia to intrigue against Washington before the Congress.

If not entirely disregarding, at any rate in no fashion publicly noticing, the hostility of Lee and Gates, General Washington gave courage to his army, and restored the sinking spirits of the American Colonists, by a most brilliant dash at the Hessian quarters at Trenton, where, with actually inferior forces, he created an utter panic amongst the British troops. Just after the Trenton victory there is a fine illustration of the slender thread on which *hung the future* of American Independence. Several of the

regiments wished to return home; only enlisted for one year, their term of service had expired, their pay was in arrear, their presence was indispensable to Washington, at any rate for a short time, and by the offer of a bounty of ten dollars per man, they were induced to agree to stay for six weeks; but there was no money in the pay-chest, and the poor, penniless men could not rely on promises of future payment. Washington had to borrow £150 to enable him to pay the most pressing, and thus temporarily kept his forces together.

At the close of 1776 Washington was invested by Congress with almost dictatorial powers, and in acknowledging the resolution of Congress, he says: "I find Congress have done me the honour to entrust me with powers, in my military capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited extent. Instead of thinking myself freed from all civil obligations by this mark of their confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind that, as the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside when those liberties are firmly established." Washington was true in letter and in spirit to this promise. No enticement of ambition made him waver for one moment in his fidelity to the trust he had accepted.

Although Washington possessed nearly absolute authority, he seems to have been extremely reluctant to use it, and often permitted Congress to interfere, and to make appointments and arrangements which were neither consonant with his views nor with the dignity of his position. This is of course open to the criticism, that had Washington been less wise, it might have been very difficult for him to have held together the Eastern men, some of whom honestly seemed to entertain the notion that despite his professions Washington was really aiming at the establishment of a military rule.

The surrender of General Burgoyne, and the division under his command, to General Gates in the north; and the repulse of the army under Washington at Germantown, gave room for some of the disaffected to revive the intrigues hostile to the Commander-in-Chief. General Gates not only omitted to report to George Washington the surrender by Burgoyne, but actually corresponded secretly with dissatisfied officers in Washington's camp to induce them to cabal against their chief. The glorious achievements of Gates were compared with the disasters which attended

Washington in this campaign. It was overlooked that Gates —who was afterwards utterly ruined by his defeats in the South—was only carrying out Washington's original far-seeing plan of operations, and with a very large force at his command, aided by a generally favourable spirit in the part of the country where his military operations were conducted, while Washington had an inferior force weakened by troops he had detached to aid Gates—which troops General Gates now withheld from his Commander—and was in a lukewarm State, where many were disaffected to the American cause. Washington himself says that "General Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence." The American army had great difficulty in obtaining provisions; in some places where the inhabitants had provisions and cattle, they denied them to General Washington, and preferred taking their cattle and food to Philadelphia, where the English army gave them higher prices.

In 1778 Washington writes: "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in the camp; a part of the army has been for a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery." Philadelphia was occupied during the winter by a British army 20,000 strong, provided with every comfort; while Washington was at Valley Forge, besieging the city after a fashion, with not more than 5,000 men, in sadly wretched plight, sometimes without ammunition to serve its cannon. At last General Howe resigned the command of the British army to Sir Henry Clinton, by whom Philadelphia was evacuated, under orders from the Home Government.

Now came the effect of the treaty concluded by Franklin, between France and America, in the aid of a French squadron and French funds. This French contingent rather increased the temporary difficulties of Washington as Commander-in-Chief, although the general effect of the French alliance was to render the British prospects in the Colonies one of the gloomiest character. George III. was wicked enough, personally, to encourage the barbarous employment of Indians; and scalping, ravishing, and burning were amongst the means ineffectually resorted to by an anointed king to win back the affections of his subjects. The English Church and English landed aristocracy, by public addresses, *encouraged* their king in his cruel obstinacy, and the war

to subdue the Colonies was to be carried on in despite of the failures already experienced. In America the French alliance had at least one bad effect; many deemed that the war would now cease at once; that there was, therefore, no necessity for continuous supplies to the army; for long drills or great preparations. The several Colonies were unwilling to comply with military requisitions, which they thought had now become needless, and General Washington found himself exceedingly embarrassed, and his popularity endangered by his persistence in requiring the means for continuing a long, arduous, and costly struggle; and at the close of 1778 he writes: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war."

Difficulties in the internal condition of the army, and its relation to the various States, may be best illustrated by the case of the Jersey Brigade, in which, in 1779, the officers —who complained that they could get no pay, and that their families were starving—refused to march unless their arrears were first discharged. Here Washington acted with great tact as well as with great firmness; and while entirely denying the right of the officers or men to utilise their military position, he at the same time pressed Congress and the State Legislature to deal more patriotically with their defenders in the field.

For weeks at a time the army was on half allowance of food, sometimes without meat, sometimes without bread, sometimes without both. Congress being destitute of the power of levying general taxes, the State Governments were each severally charged with the duty of supporting their own quota of troops to the army. This naturally resulted in great inequality and discontent. Some States furnished their troops amply with pay and clothing; some States were niggardly in these respects; and some States were so neglectful as to leave their troops practically destitute, producing in these latter a more discontented and mutinous spirit from the contrast with their more favoured brethren.

To remedy this disastrous condition of things increased powers were sought for Washington, but any augmentation of his already large authority was strenuously objected to by some of the best men. It was urged "that his influence was already too great; that even his virtues afforded motives for alarm; that the enthusiasm of the army, joined to the

kind of dictatorship already confided to him, placed Congress and the United States at his mercy."

In the middle of 1780 matters came to a crisis. Two Connecticut regiments turned out in armed meeting, resolved to march home, "or at best to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet." Suppressing this mutinous outbreak with considerable difficulty, Washington found it nearly impossible to get bread for his famishing soldiers, and in a spirit of deep despondency he wrote: "I have almost ceased to hope." Yet when the English commander, informed by his spies of the condition of Washington's forces, marched to attack the American troops, he found that Washington's great personal influence was enough to arouse their patriotism and unite their ranks; and instead of a discontented and disorganised rabble, the British were confronted by a compact and well-ordered, though badly-equipped, army, before whom the English forces retreated, despite the superiority on the royalist side.

In 1780 Washington seemed at the end of his resources. He writes: "I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them; and in a little time we shall have no men, if we have no money to pay them." The Pennsylvanian troops mutinied in 1781, and compelled Congress to treat with them. Encouraged by this, a part of the Jersey troops also revolted; but Washington, here close at hand, sternly stamped out this revolt. A striking feature connected with these mutinies by the American troops against Congress is, that the mutineers nevertheless remained faithful to the American cause, and made prisoners of agents sent to them with money and promises from the English camp.

In October, 1781, the war was practically decided by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown; and it is needless to dwell here at any length on the closing scenes of a struggle which terminated on the 20th of January, 1783, by the signature of the treaty at Paris.

The army, as in the case of the Commonwealth struggle, was now a power in the land. The pay of officers and men was in arrear; they had many grievances; the future conduct of affairs was doubtful; there was a suggestion of—if not an absolute attempt to organise—a military government. One *veteran officer* took upon himself to suggest to Washington

that "the title of King would be attended with some material advantages." Washington replied without hesitation that no event in the war had given him so much pain as "your information of there being such ideas expressed in the army," which "I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity." With the army General Washington had a most difficult task. Their grievances were real, and to the Congress at Philadelphia he represented these in the strongest terms. To the army itself he was sternly firm in forbidding any use of their military force in support of their claims against Congress.

At last, on the 23rd of December, 1783, at Annapolis, having first in methodical fashion settled up his pecuniary accounts—and without one farthing pay or profit or recompense for his military services—George Washington relinquished the authority the nation had entrusted to his hands, and retired to private life without a stain on his shield, unhesitatingly disregarding those allurements of power which would have been irresistible to a weaker man. It is noteworthy that the total amount of Washington's account—including £1,982 10s. for secret service—was only £19,306 11s. 9d., and this was from July, 1775, to December 28th, 1783. In General Washington's own private book there is an entry that he was a considerable loser from items that, "in the perplexity of business," he had omitted to charge. No claim was ever urged by him to have this deficiency made up.

In 1785, the Assembly of Virginia, by an unanimous vote, gave to Washington a number of shares, value about 40,000 dollars, in two schemes connected with the navigation of the Potomac and James Rivers. Washington, who had resolved not personally to accept any valuable reward, asked and obtained the permission of the Virginian Legislature to apply the gifts to objects of a public nature, and ultimately the value was devoted to educational purposes.

The conclusion of the struggle with the mother country left the many, discontented with the burdens and troubles of the war, a full opportunity for the expression of their dissatisfaction. The Government had little or no effective authority now that the war was concluded, and martial law no longer prevailed. "The confederation," writes Washington, "appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances *being little* attended to." Colonel Henry Lee

having applied to George Washington to use his influence with the people, the latter thus replied from Mount Vernon: "You talk, my good Sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is not government. Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. There is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents aim at. If they have real grievances, redress them if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it at the moment. If they have not, employ the force of the Government against them at once. If this is inadequate, all will be convinced that the superstructure is bad and wants support.....Let the reins of Government be braced and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended; but not suffered to be trampled upon whilst it has an existence."

Something had to be done to bind the independent Colonies together. "A government," says Marshall, "authorised to declare war, but relying on independent States for the means of prosecuting it; capable of contracting debts, and of pledging the public faith for their payment, but depending on thirteen distinct sovereignties for the preservation of that faith, could only be rescued from ignominy and contempt by finding those sovereignties administered by men exempt from the passions incident to human nature."

On the 25th of May, 1787, a Congress assembled at Philadelphia, of which George Washington was appointed President. After several months of doubtful, and sometimes bitter, discussion and uncertainty, this Congress published the Constitution of the United States of America. Of this Constitution Washington writes to Lafayette that, while not free from defects, "the general Government is not invested with more powers than are indispensably necessary to perform the functions of a good government," and 'that these powers, as the appointment of all rulers will forever arise from, and at short stated intervals recur to, the free suffrages of the people, are so distributed among the legislative executive and judicial branches into which the general government is arranged, that it can never be in danger of degenerating into a monarchy, an oligarchy, or an *aristocracy*, or any other despotic or oppressive form, so

long as there shall remain any virtue in the body of the people."

Under the New Constitution the first Wednesday in January, 1789, was appointed for the election by the people of their first President, and the vote was unanimous in the choice of George Washington.

## III.—THE CONTRAST.

THOUGH in many respects occupying positions of similar character, no two men could be more dissimilar than Oliver Cromwell and George Washington. The first, as is shown by his life, grew into a ruler of men by the force of his own character and by the warrior skill he manifested, and this in spite of the leading spirits of his age. The second became the chief magistrate of a newly-made nation by the force of the times, by the suffrages of men with intellects clearer, and even bolder, than his own, and because of the thorough faithfulness he had shown to the cause to which he had most disinterestedly and unselfishly devoted himself. Cromwell made his will the law for the nation, and used his sword to enforce the law. Washington accepted the will of the majority, which had entrusted him with authority, as the law which he was bound to obey. Cromwell played the army, and especially his Ironsides, against the Parliament. Washington submitted most completely to Congress, and refused to side with the dissatisfied army when it wished to rely on its weapons to enforce the redressal even of its just grievances. Neither Cromwell nor Washington were really Republicans. Cromwell, though destroying the Monarchy, never ceased to be Royalist, and took himself the throne—uncrowned, it is true, save by the trooper's helmet, in which he had fought his way to the right to wield the Protector's sceptre-staff. Washington, wrestling against a far-away and blundering Government, amidst men with more vigorous politics than he had learned, went with the stream, and became Republican *malgré lui*—that is, he accepted the form, and honestly strove to adopt the spirit from the grander brains who gave to the world the famous Declaration of Independence. Washington made a better man than Cromwell. Cromwell was a bigger man than Washington. Washington rejected the mere whisper of a crown, and indignantly condemned the suggestion, even

before it had found clear shape of utterance. Cromwell created the spirit which formally presented to him the kingly dignity for acceptance, and he weighed the glittering bauble regretfully in his hands before he put it aside as an ornament scarcely valuable enough to wear, as against the danger of weakness it brought to the wearer.

There can be few men more thoroughly true and honourable than George Washington. History tells of *no* other man that you may rank in the same line with Oliver Cromwell. Washington has many statues, for the century which has marched over his grave has freshened each year the laurel-wreath with which the giant child-Republic crowned its foster-father. Oliver Cromwell has few or no monuments. The country to which he devoted his virility has seen his bones rattle in gibbet chains, and for two hundred years has, on its knees, thanked God that hollow, tinsel, lying, lustful, Stuart was restored to rule England, in lieu of this fierce, sturdy, Puritan man, whose soul inbreathed power only because the power carried England's standard higher.

A fitting emblem for Oliver Cromwell is presented by the grandly glorious Western sunset. Still mighty in the fierceness of its rays, few eyes can look steadily into the golden radiance of that evening sun; the strongest must lower their glances, dazzled by its brilliance. Every cloud is rich with ruddy gilding, as if the mere presence of that sun made glorious the very path it trod. And yet, while one looks, the tints deepen into scarlet, crimson, purple, as though that sun had been some mailed warrior, who had gained his grand pre-eminence by force of steel, and had left a bloody track to mark his steps to power. And even while you pause to look, the thick dark veil of night falls over all, with a blackness so cold, complete, and impenetrable, as to make you almost doubt the reality of the mighty magnificence which yet has scarcely ceased. In the eventide of his life's day such a sun was Cromwell. Few men might look him fairly in the face as peers in strength. His presence gives a glory to the history page which gilds the smaller men whom he led. And yet Tredah and Worcester, Preston and Dunbar, and a host of other encrimsoned clouds, compel us to remember how much the sword was used to carve his steps to rule. And then comes the night of death—so thickly black that even the grave cannot protect Cromwell's bones from the gibbet's desecration.

And not unfittingly might the sunrise, almost without twilight, in the same land, do service as emblem for George Washington. He must be a bold man who, in the mists and chill of the dying night, not certain of its coming, would dare watch for the rising sun. And yet, while he watches, the silver rays, climbing over the horizon's hill, shed light and clearness round; and soon a golden warmth breathes life and health and beauty into blade and bud, giving hope of the meridian splendour soon to come. George Washington was the morning sun of a day whose noontide has not yet been marked—a day of liberty rendered more possible now that slavery's cloud no longer hides the sun; a day the enduring light of which depends alone on the honest Republicanism of those who now dwell in that land where Washington was doorkeeper in Liberty's temple.

# FIVE DEAD MEN WHOM I KNEW WHEN LIVING.

IN selecting as the subject for a lecture "Five Dead Men Whom I Knew when They were Living"—Robert Owen, Joseph Mazzini, John Stuart Mill, Charles Sumner, and Alexandre Auguste Ledru Rollin—I do not mean more than that the accidents of my chequered life, having thrown me into contact with these men, I take their lives for the lessons such lives give, without either pretending to maintain their several views, or to imply that all, or either of, the five are, or is, in any fashion identified with my own advanced opinions, except where such identity shall be expressly stated. Naturally, the compass of a lecture is prohibitive of any biographic detail, or of any completeness of statement of the respective teachings of the men I briefly deal with.

## I.—ROBERT OWEN.

ROBERT OWEN, the great advocate of English Socialism, was born at Newtown, a Montgomeryshire village, on the 14th May, 1771. His early life-struggles—his rapid, but sober and business-like, conquest of that wealth which the world worships so much, but to which he seems to have attached little value, except as it gave him facilities for spreading his views—are familiar enough. It is at New Lanark, in 1797, and thenceforth for twenty years, that one would wish to show Robert Owen, for if he had never done

aught outside New Lanark, he did enough there alone to win grateful recollection. Surrounding the factory workers in his employment with humanising conditions, ameliorating their position, he made the wage-winners something more than mere human machines. Recognising that it was easier to bend and mould the tendencies of the child than to break the long-acquired habit of the grown man or woman, Robert Owen set an example to all Britain by introducing infant schools in his New Lanark village. It was Robert Owen who practically demonstrated that the child's mind is a sheet of paper, varying in colour, quality, and size, but which cannot be left blank; it must be ornamented or disfigured, fact or falsehood must be written on it. It was Robert Owen who gave an example which might be followed with advantage by teetotal advocates. He made New Lanark a sober village, not so much by denouncing drink, as by providing home inducements and evening amusements which outrivaled the beer-shop or whisky store. Many an unfortunate man, returning to his overcrowded unwholesome dwelling, wearied with his toil, finds that it is foul with the breath of so many huddled together, and he consequently escapes to the glare of the gin palace or the gathering at the beerhouse to fly from the misery he finds at home. It is true that he thus aggravates the ill, but we cannot make men sober unless we purify their lives, unless the domestic hearth has its charms and enticements for them; what we want is, that the workers shall have a dwelling to go to from their work which has in it the real tokens of comfort, purity, and health of life. No four-leaved shamrock, nor magician's wand, could have even been supposed to effect so great a transformation as the persistent Humanitarianism of this earnest Robert Owen effected at New Lanark. His doctrines on the formation of character have found practical and authoritative expression more recently in the law-established reformatory schools. Instead of trampling juvenile criminals still lower into the earth, society now adopts the view which Robert Owen was the first to popularise—although not the first to enunciate—that man is better or worse according to the conditions surrounding the parent previous to the birth of the child, and those which surround the infant itself during its childhood, and accompany the boy or girl during youth. Young criminals are now sought to be made less criminal by being placed for lengthy periods under conditions which shall *modify and improve* their characters.

In 1817 Robert Owen—who had up to this time been regarded by fashionable society as an amiable but eccentric philanthropist, whose whims were to be pardoned on account of his wealth—startled all England by his famous declaration at the London Tavern. Impeaching the religions of the world, he aroused against him all the clergy, and frightened away most of his titled admirers. It has been the custom of late years for street-corner tub-thumpers—utterly incapable of imitating Owen's unselfish devotion to human improvement—to malign Robert Owen's name, and to cast all kinds of opprobrious epithets against his life. Undoubtedly Robert Owen furnished some cause to his foes, when he declared in his London Tavern speech that all the religions of the world were founded in error. And yet every religious man will contend that all the religions of the world save one, and that one his own, are false. It is said, too, that the doctrine that man is the creature of circumstances involves a theory of fatalism demoralising to the human character. Those who take ground against Mr. Owen overlook the fact that it is better to teach the truth, whatever that truth may be, so that the knowledge may furnish the motive for the selection of improving conditions. Nor is man a merely passive figure to be acted on; he re-acts and modifies his surroundings, improving or aggravating them and their effects. As each drop of water is to the ocean, so is each human unit to the world—part of the great whole, from which it cannot escape, and from which it cannot be eliminated. Freewill theorists delude themselves with empty words when they claim for the phenomena of volition that they are outside all law. The formula that man's character is formed for him, and not by him, does not express all the truth, but it expresses much more than is taught by those whose dogma it is that man may will, uninfluenced by events. Robert Owen has been too fiercely assailed for his views on marriage, those who are his assailants, forgetting how much the laws affecting woman's position and property, and regarding divorce, have been modified during the last fifty years. The marriage question is one hedged round with huge difficulties. In Roman Catholic countries extreme harshness forbids all divorce. In some States of the American Republic great facilities are given for determining a contract, which holds by force of law only, against the desire of each. Human passion enters too much with some into the consideration of this question, and is too utterly excluded by

others. It is chiefly as the inaugurator of the English Socialist Propaganda that Robert Owen will be remembered. No Socialist myself, I yet cannot but concede that the movement had an enormous value, if only as a protest against that terrible and inhuman competitive struggle, in which the strong were rewarded for their strength, and no mercy was shown to the weakest. I am probably too much of an individualist to judge a system fairly which seems to me to neutralise individual effort; but it is only necessary to look to the enormously beneficial results of co-operative effort in the North of England, in order to affirm that the Socialist Missionaries, with good old Robert Owen at their head, have left proud monuments of the effect of their teachings. If any early reconcilement is possible, as I believe it is, between the owners of accumulated capital and the vendors of labour, it must come by the enlightenment which efforts at co-operative manufacturing give to all those who take part in them. The war between capitalists and workers is an insane and suicidal war, aggravated because the rights of life are too often made secondary to the privileges of wealth. Robert Owen's Socialism was the utterance of one of the many efforts to give life and dignity to labour. Honour, then, his human effort, even if you deny his dogma. I first saw Robert Owen as a Sunday evening lecturer on the platform of the old John-street Institution, about 1848, and it was from the same platform, ten years later, that it became my duty, in consequence of the ill-health of Robert Cooper, to read for Mr. Owen the last speech he ever prepared for delivery at a Freethought meeting. No one, friend or foe, could come in contact with Robert Owen without being most thoroughly convinced of the old man's complete conviction of the accuracy of his views on society, and of his full certainty to the very last that those views would all be realised at no distant date. He was a good, pure, one-idead man, whose long life, from its prime to its close, was one never-ceasing struggle to soften the world's harsh conflict, and to create a new moral world for after-livers.

## II.—JOSEPH MAZZINI.

GUISEPPE MAZZINI, the untiring preacher of Italian Republican unity, was born at Genoa on June 22nd, 1805; and he tells us it was in April, 1821, just after the unsuccessful Piedmontese insurrection, that he was first impressed with the idea "that we Italians could, and therefore ought to, struggle for the liberty of our country." When about twenty-two years of age Mazzini commenced his literary career by writing brief book notices for a mercantile journal at Genoa, which journal he made sufficiently political to at length bring down upon it a Government decree of suspension. Vetoed in Genoa by the Sardinian authorities, Mazzini, in a second journal, braved more openly the Tuscan Government at Leghorn; but, after about twelve months, the *Indicatore Livornese*, as the new journal was called, was also suppressed. Induced by his new political associates, Mazzini joined the Carbonari, a secret association, in which the police had usually—as is commonly the case in secret political organisations—sufficient members to betray the whole of the plans of the Society. Betrayed and arrested in 1830, Mazzini was confined for some months in the Fortress of Savona, whence he was ultimately released—the formal evidence against him failing—but was exiled, because the Government were only too sure of his Republican tendencies.

It was while a solitary prisoner in Savona that Joseph Mazzini conceived the plan of *La Giovina Italia* (Society of Young Italy). Intensely national, Mazzini believed that "regenerated Italy was destined to arise the *initiatrix* of a new life, and a new and powerful unity to all the nations of Europe." It is doubtful whether the movements of the Southern and Northern races in Europe have not a distinctness of character which must always be fatal to Mazzini's conception of the *rôle* of Italy. Mazzini rightfully asserted the unity of Italy; but Italian intellect is too poetic and too subtle to be the guide of some of the less musical, but not less thorough, politics of the Teutonic races. From

Italy Mazzini went to Lyons, and in 1831 he joined a forlorn expedition into Corsica, intending to cross thence into the Romagna, where an insurrectionary rising was planned. This expedition failing, Mazzini took up his residence at Marseilles, where he formally founded the Society of Young Italy, to create "an Italy, one, free, and powerful; independent of all foreign supremacy, and morally worthy of her great mission." The statutes declared "Young Italy is Republican and Unitarian. Republican, because theoretically every nation is destined, by the law of God and humanity, to form a free and equal community of brothers; and the Republican is the only form of government that ensures this future. Because all true sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, the sole progressive and continuous interpreter of the supreme moral law. Because, whatever be the form of privilege that constitutes the apex of the social edifice, its tendency is to spread among the other classes, and, by undermining the equality of the citizens, to endanger the liberty of the country. Because, when the sovereignty is recognised as existing, not in the whole body, but in several distinct powers, the path to usurpation is laid open, and the struggle for supremacy between these powers is inevitable; distrust and organised hostility take the place of harmony, which is society's law of life. Because the Monarchical element, being incapable of sustaining itself alone by the side of the popular element, it necessarily involves the existence of the intermediate element of an aristocracy—the source of inequality and corruption to the whole nation. Because both history and the nature of things teach us that Elective Monarchy tends to generate anarchy, and Hereditary Monarchy tends to generate despotism. Because when Monarchy is not, as in the Middle Ages, based upon the belief now extinct in right divine, it becomes too weak to be a bond of unity and authority in the State.....Young Italy is Unitarian, because without unity there is no true nation; because without unity there is no real strength.....The means," say the statutes, "by which Young Italy proposes to reach its aim are—education and insurrection, to be adopted simultaneously, and made to harmonise with each other. Education must ever be directed to teach by example, word, and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Insurrection, whenever it can be realised, *must be so* conducted as to render it a means of national *education.*"

It is a little difficult, when Mazzini teaches that "insurrection, by means of guerilla bands, is the true method of warfare," to understand how guerilla warfare and educational progress can be consistent. Guerilla warfare is so nearly allied to—and so often results in—mere brigandage that the certain evil seems greater than any possible advantage; and, as a matter of fact, history has most clearly shown that these guerilla bands are more effective for mischief on the enemy than for good to the cause on behalf of which they are arrayed. Mazzini himself teaches that "Great revolutions are the work rather of principles than of bayonets, and are achieved first in the moral, and then in the material sphere." In the programme of Young Italy Joseph Mazzini, who was bitterly opposed to what he called Materialism, affirmed that "the reformation of a people rests upon no sure foundation, unless based upon agreement in religious belief." He declared that "the doctrines of Materialism disinherit man of every noble aim, and abandon him to the arbitrary rule of chance or blind force." Joseph Mazzini was, at the same time, devotedly Republican and religious. He blended his piety with his politics, and regarded Republicanism as God-ordained.

Exile, and some sorrow beyond—a sorrow which he alludes to, but does not state—had given a tone of sadness to his life. Tenacious of purpose, he was fit to be the mainspring of a secret society, but hardly so fitted to be the conductor of any open movement where his views would be subject to contradiction or criticism from his co-workers. He was grandly thorough in his Republicanism, but he dreamed it for the working men of Italy before he knew what those working men were; and although he made great efforts to educate the people, he never seems to have recognised the fact that the proclamation of a Republic to a people of whom the majority are not prepared for it, is but a small step towards real Republicanism. In Rome he was—when invested with authority—so roughly brought face to face with the bitter truth, that he says "it was put to the vote whether we should not resign our charge the day following. The population, in consequence of the long corruption of slavery, was ignorant and idle; distrustful and suspicious of all things and of all men."

The extension of the propaganda of the Young Italy became rapidly so formidable, that on the representation of the *Italian Government*, the French authorities, in August,

1832, ordered Mazzini to quit Marseilles, but the order was rendered inoperative by the extraordinary ability with which Mazzini eluded the police, and yet continued most actively his revolutionary work, so that, by the middle of 1833, the Society of Young Italy had become widely extended, if not powerful, through Lombardy, the Genoese territory, Tuscany, and the Roman States. Treason from some, and incaution on the part of others, giving the Government a clue as to the members of the society, many were arrested and put to death.

Mazzini could not help feeling deeply his own share, as the founder of the Association, in the deaths of his co-workers. Four years afterwards he says: "I feel myself a criminal—conscious of guilt, yet incapable of expiation. The forms of those shot at Alessandria and Chambery rose up before me like the phantoms of a crime, and its unavailing remorse. I could not recall them to life. How many mothers had I caused to weep? How many more must learn to weep should I persist in the attempt to arouse the youth of Italy to noble action, to awaken in them the yearning for a common country? And if that country were indeed an illusion, whence had I derived the right of judging for the future, and urging hundreds, thousands of men, to the sacrifice of themselves, and of all that they held most dear?"

Early in February, 1834, an abortive attempt was made to take a column of insurgents, under the command of General Ramorino, into Italy from Geneva. In this column Joseph Mazzini, although the contriver of the expedition, marched as a private soldier. Treachery on the part of the General, and inefficient means of action, caused the failure of the plan; and the defeat almost made Mazzini despair of his whole mission.

The Swiss authorities—compelled by the representations of the European Powers—seized the war stores of the Italian exiles, and menaced themselves with expulsion.

In Berne, where he then took refuge, Mazzini projected the formation of the Society of Young Europe, a combination of Young Italy with two kindred associations, called Young Poland and Young Germany. The ideal of the Association of Young Europe was the federal association of European Democracy under one sole direction; so that any *nation rising in* insurrection should at once find the others *ready to assist it.* To this organisation, later in 1834, was

added the new Society of Young Switzerland. Writing of Switzerland, Mazzini says: "Since January 1st, 1338, that little people has had neither king nor master. It presents the spectacle—unique in Europe—of a Republican flag floating for five centuries above the Alps, although surrounded by jealous and invading Monarchies, as if to be an incitement and a presage to us all. Charles V., Louis XIV., Napoleon, passed away, but that banner remained sacred and immoveable." The Constitution of the Swiss Republic was regarded by Mazzini as specially defective, in that its Diet, or Central Government, is composed of delegates from each Canton, chosen in each case by the grand *conseil* of the Canton, instead of being directly elected by the people. Mazzini also objected that in the Swiss Diet each Canton has but one vote, irrespective of size, or population, or taxation contribution; and he further objected to the *mandat impératif*, or special instruction to the delegate, as nullifying all spontaneity of thought and conscience. Mazzini justified the Association of Young Europe by affirming that "Liberty is an European right. Arbitrary power, tyranny, and inequality cannot exist in one nation without injury to others." In the middle of 1835 "Young Switzerland" had its journal, *La Jeune Suisse*, and a printing press at Bienne, in the Canton of Berne. The European Governments used considerable pressure to prevent the little Swiss Republic from being continued as the centre for this Republican work, and ultimately a *conclusum* of the Swiss Diet, in 1836, condemned Mazzini to perpetual exile from Switzerland.

In January, 1837, the great Italian conspirator arrived in London. This was a gloomy period in Mazzini's life; exiled, poor, doubting, and doubted, it seemed to himself almost as if his young life had been an utter failure. England gives the shelter of its land to the political exile, but it is a cold shelter if he be a poor or an unknown man; and, until Mazzini's pen had won for him a position amongst English writers, he often knew the extremest bitterness of want. Joseph Mazzini found, too, that although the English nation gave nominal protection to his person, the English Government nevertheless was guilty of the baseness of opening his correspondence, and communicating the contents to foreign powers. That Austria utilised the information communicated to her by Lord Aberdeen's Government, *which had tampered* with letters addressed to Mazzini by

the unfortunate Brothers Bandiera, is now a matter of history. Writing eighteen years later, Mazzini said: "The secret of correspondence is violated in the English Post Office at the present day, precisely as it was in 1844, though perhaps somewhat more rarely." It is certain that in the Irish Post Office letters have been opened by authority during the last few years; and it is also certain that secret police reports have, within the last five years, been furnished in writing by the London Detective Department to the Paris Police. Whether letters are still opened at St. Martin's-le-Grand I have no sufficient means of determining.

The political volcano of 1847-8, shook severely several of the Italian princedoms, and Joseph Mazzini returned to Italy to take part in the struggle which overturned, at any rate temporarily, more than one ducal throne.

On February 9th, 1849—the Pope having fled, and Rome being without any Government—a constituent assembly, chosen by a very large popular vote, and of which Mazzini had been elected member, proclaimed a Republic in Rome. On March 29th, Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini, were chosen Triumvirs; and on April 25th, the French Republic disgraced itself by landing an army, under General Oudinot, at Civita Vecchia. The story of the siege of Rome, of its heroic defence by Joseph Garibaldi, of its fall at last in July, is too well known to need repeating at length, and is too grand to be pressed into one or two lines. Rome fell, and in July Mazzini was once more a fugitive from his loved Italy.

In 1857 Mazzini endeavoured to organise a general Italian insurrection, and went to Genoa himself to take his part; but although detached risings took place in various parts of Italy, the differences of opinion between the leaders, such as Mazzini, Manin, and Garibaldi, were so great, and the people were so unprepared, that another failure had to be chronicled. Mazzini opposed himself bitterly to the diplomacy of Cavour, who was then endeavouring, chiefly through Prince Jerome Napoleon, to obtain the alliance of France against Austria.

In 1858 Mazzini penned the following words on woman, worthy reproduction, alike from their great merit, and as chronicling this phase of his faith: "Love and respect woman. Seek in her, not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual and moral *faculties.* Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority *over her.* You have none whatever.....Long prejudice, an

inferior education, and a perennial legal inequality and injustice, have created that apparent intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument of continued oppression. But does not the history of oppression teach us how the oppressor ever seeks his justification and support by appealing to a fact of his own creation? The feudal castes that withheld education from the sons of the people, excluded them on the ground of that very want of education from the rights of the citizen, from the sanctuary wherein laws are framed, and from that right of vote which is the initiation of the social mission.....Consider woman as the partner and companion, not merely of your joys and sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your endeavours after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life."

Mazzini and Mill were alike eloquent pleaders for womanhood, and each deserve woman's tribute of grateful memory.

In 1859 the brain of Mazzini and the arm of Garibaldi effectually moved the peoples of Sicily and Naples, and rousing even the lazzaroni from their lethargy, frightened away Bomba from his Neapolitan Palace. Mazzini and Garibaldi then took entirely different ground, and bitterness arose, which was never cleared away. Mazzini desired Garibaldi to hold the Two Sicilies as Republican, and to strike a blow at Rome for the unity of Italy, while Joseph Garibaldi consented to the annexation of Naples and Sicily to Piedmont, under the rule of Victor Emanuel, and returned to his island home at Caprera, satisfied that his country had advanced one step to the unity, which he, equally with Mazzini, so ardently desired.

It was shortly before this date that I first saw Joseph Mazzini, at his modest lodgings, in Onslow Terrace, Brompton, where he then lived under the name of Signor Ernesti. He was one of the few men who impress you first, and always, with the thorough truthfulness and incorruptibility of their natures. Simple in his manners, with only one luxury, his cigar, he had that fulness of faith in his cause which is so contagious, and by the sheer force of personal contact he made believers in the possibility of Italian Unity even among those who were utter strangers to his thought and hope.

In 1865 the city of Messina elected Mazzini as Deputy to the Italian Parliament; but he refused to take his seat in an Assembly where he would have had to take the oath of allegiance to Victor Emanuel. He said, "Monarchy will

never number me amongst its servants or followers. I dedicate myself wholly, and for ever, to constitute Italy one free, independent, Republican nation. I have lived, I live, and I shall die a Republican, bearing witness to my faith to the last."

When in 1870 Mazzini set foot in Sicily, the Government arrested him, and sent him to Gaeta. A general protest went out through Europe, and the imprisonment was not of long duration, but it was yet enough to weaken the already diminished vitality of the oft-disappointed conspirator for Italian Republican Unity.

On the 10th March, 1872, at Pisa, where, under an assumed English name, he had passed five months in almost complete solitude, Joseph Mazzini died; worn out in body and spirit by the forty years' never-ceasing toil for the liberty and unity of his much-loved native land. At his funeral 80,000 men and women met to testify to his truth, to mourn his death. Sentences of death and exile stood unrevoked against him while living. Italy, from that Rome which Mazzini had defended, could not enforce these penal sentences, but it was only her dead son she honoured. Living, she let his broken heart bear undiminished the sorrows of his intense struggle. Dead, a whole population witnessed that the liberty-lesson his life had taught would bear its fruits now the white-haired teacher could no longer use his pen. In seven-hilled Rome a laurel crown was placed by Italy's hand on the head which had bowed to earth in the mighty effort to teach Italia's children how to compass the freedom of their birth-land.

## III.—JOHN STUART MILL.

To record the mere life of John Stuart Mill would present little of lasting interest, especially as Mr. Mill never seems to have sought to use his official knowledge of Indian affairs to govern his conduct as a practical politician, after connection with the East India Company had been

determined. It is not so much how he lived as what he thought, not so much what he did as what he taught, that is worth remembering. Born May 20th, 1806, and dying May, 1873, he probably, during the last twenty-five years of his life, influenced, more than any other man, the various thinkers in England and America. As a political economist, a logician, a politician, a metaphysician, the exponent of Utilitarianism, and advocate of woman's rights, he stands in all phases remarkable, in some without superior. In political economy it is his merit to have popularised amongst the people a science which had been generally regarded by artisans as cold and hard, only to be used by the rich against the poor; and it is noteworthy that Mr. Mill won his popularity despite his steadfast maintenance of the Malthusian theory of the law of population.

Mr. Mill clearly distinguished between the laws of production of wealth, which are real "laws of nature," dependent on the properties of objects, and the modes of the distribution of wealth, which, subject to certain conditions, depend on the human will. In this he differed from those who pretend that the distribution of wealth is determined by economic laws, which are incapable of being temporarily defeated or modified by human effort.

As a politician, Mr. Mill affirmed that women were entitled to representation on the same terms with men. He supported Mr. Thomas Hare's scheme for obtaining a more perfect representation of minorities; and, whether or not Mr. Hare's proposal shall ever be embodied in a statutory form, Republicans should remember that thorough respect can never be shown to the decisions of the majority unless the minority are afforded a fair occasion to be heard on all important questions. It is right that the majority should decide, but only on condition that the voice of the minority has full utterance prior to the delivery of the final award. Mr. Mill opposed the ballot, and I avow that I should be pleased if voters could be true and self-reliant enough to dispense with the protection it affords.

Admitting "the irresistible claim of every man and woman to be consulted, and to be allowed a voice in the regulation of the affairs which vitally concern them," Mr. Mill desired to give a plurality of votes to "proved superiority of education," in order to secure "the superiority of weight justly due to opinions grounded on superiority of knowledge."

*In his Political* Economy Mr. Mill had taught that the

right of freehold proprietorship in land could only be maintained subject to the duty of cultivation; and late in life, as the President of the Land Tenure Reform Association, he propounded a scheme by which the unearned augmentation of rent was to be applied otherwise than to the private aggrandisement of the landlord. The land question in England is yet to become a battle question, serious in character, and uncertain as to its method of solution. Only one thing is certain—viz., that thousands must not be allowed to continue to grow poor and wretched, in order that a few dozen persons may become unfairly, as well as enormously, rich.

In the great American struggle Mr. Mill regarded the course of the Southerners, in all its stages, as "an aggressive enterprise of the slave-owners to extend the territory of slavery, under the combined influences of pecuniary interest, domineering temper, and the fanaticism of a class for its class privileges;" and, therefore, when the upper and middle classes in England expressed pro-Southern views, Mr. Mill arrayed himself with the artisan classes of England on the side of the North.

In philosophy, Mr. Mill affirmed that "the prevailing tendency to regard all the marked distinctions of the human character as innate, and in the main indelible, and to ignore the irresistible proofs that by far the greater part of those differences, whether between individuals, races, or sexes, are such as not only might, but naturally would, be produced by differences in circumstances, is one of the chief hindrances to the rational treatment of great social questions, and one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to human improvement." While describing himself, in the Autobiography published since his death, as one who never had a religious belief, John Stuart Mill was, unfortunately, taught that his heretical opinions "could not prudently be avowed to the world." Now, it is true, he affirms that the time appears to have come in religious matters "when it is the duty of all who, being qualified in point of knowledge, have, on mature consideration, satisfied themselves that the current opinions are not only false, but hurtful," to make their dissent known; "and," he adds, "the world would be astonished if it knew how great a proportion of its brightest ornaments—of those most distinguished even in popular estimation for wisdom and virtue—are complete sceptics in religion."

*The effect of* Mr. Mill's early teaching is manifested by

a reticence which pervades his writings; a reticence often liable to be utterly misunderstood. Three essays, published since his death—in which the subjects he specially refrained from discussing are treated at some length—make us more completely regret that his silence during life leaves his posthumous utterances, if not contradictory, at any rate deficient in that clearness for which his ordinary writings are so remarkable. Perhaps the most distinct declarations from Mr. Mill's pen, published during his lifetime, were: first, the one in which, in his review of Hamilton, he declared it to be profoundly immoral to teach, with Dean Mansel, that it is man's duty to worship "a being whose moral attributes are affirmed to be unknowable by us, and to be, perhaps, extremely different from those which, when we are speaking of our fellow creatures, we call by the same names." Mill says: "If, instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a being in whom all the excellences which the highest human mind can conceive, exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that 'the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving,' does not sanction them; convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do—he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go." The other is in the review of Comte: "Candid persons of all creeds may be willing to admit, that if a person has an ideal object, his attachment and sense of duty towards which are able to control and discipline all his other sentiments and propensities, and prescribe to him a rule of life, that person has a religion; and though every one naturally prefers his own religion to any other, all must admit that if the object of this attachment, and of this feeling of duty, is the aggregate of our fellow-creatures, this Religion of the Infidel cannot, in honesty and conscience, be called an intrinsically bad one."

*Occasionally*, as in the essay on Utilitarianism, there are

passages in Mr. Mill's writings which a Christian would probably read as meaning more than Mr. Mill intended to convey; and in the two last essays of the latest volume there are several positions conflicting seriously with the ground taken in the first essay.

In 1861, when I fought the authorities at Devonport on the question of the right of meeting, Mr. John Stuart Mill, with whom I had up to that time held no communication, sent me a cheque for £25 towards the heavy costs I then incurred; and in 1868, for reasons which he has himself stated towards the close of his Autobiography, he also subscribed towards the expenses of my election struggle at Northampton.

To show how even his opponents can speak of him, I give the following extract from an official lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society, Mr. W. R. Browne, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge :—"John Stuart Mill was one of the keenest, the clearest, the most influential thinkers of his day. He was also a man much beloved by his friends (Heaven forbid that I should stint a word that can be uttered in praise of the dead!), devoted to the welfare of his fellow-men, regular and temperate in his life, honest, upright, sincere; and he was an utter unbeliever in any form of religion whatsoever. This fault, which was tolerably well known in his lifetime, is made perfectly clear and certain by the volume before us. He was all that I have described, morally and intellectually, either in consequence of, or in spite of, his rejection of all that Christians hold true and sacred. Which of these is the case? There can be no denying that, at first sight, his life makes against the party of religion. I know that it has been felt to be so by many; I have felt it to some extent myself. Can that be true which a thinker so careful and so brilliant—the greatest master, in this age at least, of the science of logic and the laws of evidence—pronounced unhesitatingly to be false?"

Mr. Mill's almost sudden death at Avignon was mourned as a national bereavement. As an able writer in the *Daily News* wrote in the obituary notice, "the full measure of his political influence will not be known until the next generation, when the younger men, who of late, at Oxford and the other seats of learning, have drunk in his doctrines, come *in their turn* to the front, and assume the task of shaping *the nation's* destinies."

## IV.—CHARLES SUMNER.

ENGLISHMEN need to be reminded that slavery was a vice instituted and fostered in the American colonies by aristocra ic and monarchical England. Efforts made by various colonies to check the slave trade were rebuked by the English Government. The barbarism of slavery was the enduring legacy to the West from civilised and Christian England. In the Federation of the United States the right of holding slaves was retained, amongst other State rights, by the Southern States.

As the Republic grew, two hostile elements were distinctly manifested—the one for the abolition, the other for the extension, of the slave power. In 1844 Texas was annexed to the United States by the influence of the Southern members of Congress, and the vast extent of Texan territory promised the Slave States the command of the Gulf of Mexico, and their preponderance as a political party. It was on this occasion that Charles Sumner—known theretofore as a cultivated, eloquent, and rapidly-rising Massachusetts barrister—made his first distinct stand on the side of freedom against slavery. In November, 1845, in a speech in Faneuil Hall against the admission to the Union of Texas as a Slave State, Sumner said: "God forbid that the votes and voices of the freemen of the North should help to bind anew the fetter of the slave." From thenceforward, until the day of his death, Charles Sumner never wavered in the course he had chosen.

Dealing with the matter with the reverence for law, natural to one trained as he had been, Charles Sumner challenged the slaveholders on constitutional grounds; urging that the provisions of the United States constitution, in favour of slaveholding, were merely temporary, and were framed in the expectation that the slave traffic would be abandoned at no distant period. He affirmed that the Congress could, even then, by express legislation, abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and in any territories; that it could abolish the slave trade on the high seas between the States; and that it could refuse to admit to the Union *any new* State with a constitution sanctioning slavery;

further, that the people of the United States might, by regular amendment to the constitution, destroy slavery.

In 1851 Mr. Sumner, who was then forty years of age, having been born January 6th, 1811, was elected United States Senator for Massachusetts; and at first he stood at Washington almost alone in his direct pleading for abolition. In 1854, by the Kansas and Nebraska Act, a large extent of fine territory was practically thrown open for competition between free and servile labourers.

Streams of Northern men advocating free soil, and bodies of Southern men, eager to extend slave power, pressed on to the new lands. The Southerners were not, however, content to fight fairly; organised bodies of armed men entered Kansas from Missouri, and controlled the elections with bowie knife and pistol. At the first election of the Kansas Legislature, March 30th, 1855, the revolver and knife were freely used, several unoffending citizens were shot, and the abolitionists, finding themselves overpowered by force, appealed to the Government for protection. Mr. Seward presented to Congress "A Bill for the Admission of Kansas into the Union." During the debate Mr. Sumner delivered, on the 19th and 20th May, 1855, his celebrated speech, "The crime against Kansas," described by the poet Whittier as "a grand and terrible philippic." He said: "The wickedness which I now begin to expose is immeasurably aggravated by the motive which prompted it. Not in any common lust for power did this uncommon tragedy have its origin. It is the rape of a virgin territory, compelling it to the hateful embrace of slavery: and it may be clearly traced to a depraved longing for a new Slave State, the hideous offspring of such a crime, in the hope of adding to the power of slavery in the national government." With almost prophetic voice he added: "The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, are now diffused from the distant territory over widespread communities, and the whole country in all its extent; marshalling hostile divisions, and foreshadowing a strife, which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, will become war-fatal, fratricidal, parricidal, war—with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals."

The speech caused a tremendous sensation through the *whole of the* South. Previous to its delivery there had been *many threats* of personal violence against Mr. Sumner; two

days after it had been delivered Preston S. Brooks, member of the House from South Carolina, with a gold-headed gutta-percha cane in his hand, came to the seat in the Senate where Charles Sumner sat writing, and, with scarce a word of warning, struck the abolitionist orator a fearful blow, inflicting a severe wound upon the back of the head, repeating the blows until the cane was shivered to pieces, and Mr. Sumner lay bleeding and insensible on the floor of the Senate. The spirit of Southern slave-holding chivalry was well shown. Richmond and Charleston journals praised Brooks for his dastardly blow. Southern clergymen preached in his favour. South Carolina re-elected him as the representative of the State. Southern ladies bought for him a new cane, in lieu of the one which he had destroyed in his murderous onslaught on Charles Sumner. It was nearly five years before the effects of the attack had sufficiently passed away to enable the Massachusetts Senator to plead again for freedom. Perfect recovery was impossible; the shock to the nervous system had been too severe; and Mr. Sumner never ceased to feel the effect of the cowardly attack.

While travelling in Europe to recruit his health, Mr. Sumner, on the introduction of the Duchess of Argyll, had an interview with Lord Palmerston as to the repression of slavery in Cuba, the particulars of which I will give as nearly as possible in Mr. Sumner's own words: "Prompted to it by nearly the last words John Adams used to me before he died, I reminded his Lordship that his own Circular as Foreign Secretary had, in express terms, pledged any Government, in which he was influential, to an abolition policy; and urged on him that Great Britain could, if it would, at any time put an end to slavery in the island of Cuba." "How?" asked Viscount Palmerston. "By simply enforcing the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, which absolutely prohibited all importation of slaves after a fixed date, and provided that any slaves landed in Cuba in contravention of this convention, should be declared free." I added to this that "more than seven-eighths of the slave population of Cuba were under this provision entitled to their freedom." Lord Palmerston was very courteous, but did nothing.

It was in June, 1860, he spoke of "that better day, near at hand, when freedom shall be restored everywhere under *the national government*; when the national flag, wherever

it floats, on sea or on land, with n the national jurisdiction, will not cover a single slave; and when the declaration of independence, now reviled in the name of slavery, will once again be reverenced as the American Magna Charta of human rights. Nor is this all. Such an act will be the first stage in those triumphs by which the Republic—lifted in character so as to become an example to mankind—will enter at last upon its noble prerogative of teaching the nations how to live." The story of the election of Abraham Lincoln, the huge war convulsion, the emancipation proclamation, the amendments to the constitution giving the coloured man political equality—this cannot be told here in fitting words.

Sumner is one of the few great warriors for a principle who have lived, not only to witness its emergence from unpopularity and obscurity, but have actually seen victory crown the apparently hopeless effort of their lives.

Charles Sumner, whom I first saw in the autumn of 1873, seemed to feel deeply the charge that he had acted unfairly to England in the matter of the claims arising out of the damage done to United States' commerce by the vessels built for the Southern Confederacy by Messrs. Laird. He said: "I distinguish between the English people, whom I have always regarded with the utmost friendliness, and the English Government. But put yourself in my place. Suppose civil war between Ireland and England; suppose a Member of Congress to build war steamers at Portland under orders from those whom you called the Irish Rebels; suppose the Government at Washington, duly warned, taking no real steps to stop the vessels; suppose these vessels coming direct from the American port—and without ever entering an Irish port at all—being fitted with munitions of war, and burning and destroying your merchant vessels; suppose the builder to sit in Congress, not only without censure, but receiving there constant friendly greeting, and to be treated as a friend by members of the Cabinet—what would be your feelings, Mr. Bradlaugh, as an Englishman, against the America which permitted such a wrong?"

Charles Sumner died on March 11th, 1874; all America felt his loss, and Massachusetts mourned for him as though her dearest son had been taken. At his grave Curtis and Schurz vied with each other in laudations on his life. Amongst those who delivered funeral orations over Sumner

was Robert B. Elliott, Senator for South Carolina, who said: "I am a negro, one of the victim race;" and from this oration I take the following: "Fellow citizens, the life of Charles Sumner needs no interpreter. It is an open, illumined page. The ends he aimed at were always high; the means he used were always direct. Neither deception nor indirection, neither concealment nor disguise of any kind or degree, had place in his nature or his methods. By open means he sought open ends. He walked in the sunlight, and wrote his heart's inmost purpose on his forehead. His activity and capacity of intellectual labour were almost unequalled. Confined somewhat by the overshadowing nature of the anti-slavery cause in the range of his topics, he multiplied his blows, and re-doubled the energy of his assaults upon that great enemy of his country's peace. Here his vigour knew no bounds. He laid all ages and lands under contribution. Scholarship in all its walks—history, art, literature, science—all these he made his aids and servitors. But who does not see that *these* are not his glory? He was a scholar amongst scholars; an orator of consummate power; a statesman familiar with the structure of governments and the social forces of the world. But he was greater and better than one or all of these; he was a man of absolute moral rectitude of purpose and of life. His personal purity was perfect, and unquestioned everywhere. He carried morals into politics. And this is the greatness of Charles Sumner: that by the power of his moral enthusiasm, he rescued the nation from its shameful subservience to the demands of material and commercial interests, and guided it up to the high plane of justice and right. Above his other great qualities towers that moral greatness to which scholarship, oratory, and statesmanship are but secondary and insignificant. He was just, because he loved justice; he was right, because he loved right. Let this be his record and epitaph."

## V.—LEDRU ROLLIN.

ALEXANDRE AUGUSTE LEDRU ROLLIN was born February 2nd, 1808, when Napoleon I. was in the height of his power. Louis Philippe—after whose flight Ledru Rollin sought from the popular suffrage the post of chief magistrate—was then thirty-five years of age. Louis Philippe at that time an exile, afterwards to be King, and then an exile once more. Poor France! a line of Bourbon Kings ruling for centuries over starved peoples, and ending in a revolt of despair—an attempt for liberty, rendered impossible by bayonets, hired by England from every corner of Europe, and ending in centralised authority and military mania; a one-man rule, without heart or conscience, save such as the lust for power creates, ending in a ruined France, and a Divine-right King restored to his loving people by Uhlans and Cossacks; 1830, and the fallen successor of Louis XVIII. escorted to Cherbourg with much ceremony, Divine-right Monarchy having collapsed by its own feebleness; then, for a little more than seventeen years, Louis Philippe Citizen King. Louis Blanc says: "Charles X. était tombé, parceque son trône reposait sur un principe faux: Louis Philippe est tombé parceque son trône ne reposait sur aucun principe."

Ledru Rollin, who in 1830 became a barrister, won considerable popularity as an *avocat* by his defence of various persons charged with political offences. In 1834 we find his name amongst a muster-roll of the most brilliant names of France, as one of *les défenseurs choisis par les accusés d'Avril*, and the signature of Ledru Rollin appears to a memoir, telling, in terrible language, the horrible story of the slaughterings by Monarchical authority done in the City of Paris, under the Citizen King, on April 14th, 1834.

During the period of O'Connell's great Repeal gatherings in Ireland, Ledru Rollin, who had married an Irish lady, visited his wife's native country, and, being present at one of the monster assemblages, was cheered by the Irish

peasantry as a delegate from the Republican party in France.

As Louis Philippe's power diminished, the voice of the Republican advocate made itself heard more distinctly, and his influence was felt over a larger area. At Lille, shortly prior to the end of 1847, he pictured the coming revolution, which, "like the waters of the Nile inundating the land, should sweep away the corruptions and impurities, and deposit the germs of a new and rich life." When the first of the Reform banquets was held at the Château Rouge on July 9th, 1847, Ledru Rollin refused to attend, because—although the toast of the King's health was to be omitted—he apprehended there might still be equally obnoxious toasts. On the morning of February 24th, 1848, Louis Philippe was pressed to abdicate by Emile de Girardin—always the consulting physician to dying governments; in the evening the Monarchy had ceased with the King's flight, and a Provisional Government was chosen, of which M. Alphonse de Lamartine was the nominal head, and in which Ledru Rollin became Minister of the Interior. This Government was in name Republican; but at that date no Republic was possible in France. France was not a country with innumerable municipal centres of political vitality; it was rather a huge watch, with Paris for its main-spring. Whoever controlled Paris, the army, and the telegraphs, controlled France. M. Louis Blanc, in the fourth chapter of his "Histoire de la Révolution de 1848," tells the story how the Republic was proclaimed. Unfortunately, Lamartine, in his own account of his acceptance of the conduct of the Provisional Government on February 24th, shows how easily a few active, earnest men in Paris named the Government which was for a brief space to replace that of Louis XV. The new Minister of the Interior is thus described by his fellow-Republican: "He was well suited to his mission, one entirely of revolutionary propaganda. Quick-witted and penetrating, a political energy tempered by frank and engaging manners, an ardent will, integrity, a vehement desire to assure the success of the Republic, and an oratorical talent of the first class. These were the qualities which Ledru Rollin brought to the accomplishment of his functions, and they were heightened in him by a handsome figure, an imposing stature, and an indescribable magnetism, which, when he spoke seemed to pervade each of his

gestures." Lord Normanby, an English ambassador, in his "A Year of Revolution in Paris," thought it right to libel Ledru Rollin, just as former English ambassadors had libelled the men of 1789. Unfortunately for Lord Normanby, and happily for the truth, he published his libels to the world, and there were more newspapers to criticise, and more readers to judge, in 1848 than in the period when Louis XVI. reigned.

On March 5th, by a decree of the Provisional Government, universal suffrage was declared to be the law of France. The law was right; but it should have been demanded by the nation, and voted by the national representatives; the men to whom it was freely given were, in the majority of instances, unable to properly value the right they gained unsought.

Ledru Rollin has been severely assailed on account of an official circular issued just prior to the elections, and addressed to the Commissioners, who acted as his provincial subordinates, directing them to replace the various préfets, sous préfets, and other officials, with persons avowing Republican opinions, and declaring that "all political functions ought to be allotted to men of sure and of Republican principles." Undoubtedly, both Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc felt justified in using on behalf of Republicanism the centralised authority which had been so long used against it. As a Republican, the exercise of any pressure on the voters was unjustifiable; especially was it unjustifiable when, on April 15th, Ledru Rollin permitted his bulletin newspaper to suggest that, if the result of the elections should prove adverse to Republicanism, a second appeal to the barricades would be necessary on the part of the Parisian populace. A Republican is bound to submit to the vote of a majority, even if that vote annihilates the Republic. An appeal to force is an appeal to the past; it justifies the conduct of the strongest. When some of the regiments of the National Guards were permitted, if not encouraged, to exact from the officers they were electing a pledge, "that in the event of the new Assembly declaring against a Republic, they would march against the Assembly, and put it down," every teaching of Republicanism was outraged.

A few weeks later, Ledru Rollin, as a member of the *Executive* Commission, found himself obliged to submit to *his colleagues*, who gave authorisation to Gen. Cavaignac to

use force when the people at the barricades appealed against the decision of the Assembly hostile to the further existence of the Ateliers Nationaux. The bloody days of June were the result of this appeal, and all hope of present Republic was dead. After Ledru Rollin's retirement from the Ministry, he was for a short time *chef du Cabinet* to the Préfet of the Seine; but a strong attack was made upon him, and his popularity became seriously weakened. He was, nevertheless, elected in April, 1849, for Paris, with 129,000 votes.

On June 13th, 1849, Ledru Rollin made an earnest, but ineffectual, appeal in the Assembly against the murder of the Roman Republic by the French army under General Oudinot. The story is told by Joseph Mazzini, how clericalism in France triumphed in inducing the soldiers of one Republic, only just born, to crush the efforts of another Republic struggling into birth.

Forced to quit France, Ledru Rollin was an exile from his native country for twenty-one years. In 1857 he, then in England, was judged *par contumace* for alleged complicity in the attempt by Felice Orsini against the life of Louis Napoleon, but the charge was utterly unfounded, and was probably never even believed by the French police. The only pretence for the use of Ledru Rollin's name in the matter seems to have been that Charles Delécluze, who had established some political associations in France, was known to be in correspondence with the exile; but there was not even a shadow of complicity between Delécluze and Ledru Rollin.

It was in 1857 that I first saw Ledru Rollin, who often consulted me on points of English law during the time of his subsequent residence in St. John's Wood. On one point he was entirely in error: he judged France to be always as he left it in 1849, and was bitterly dis-illusioned when, on his return to Paris in 1870, he found a new generation had grown up with new ideas.

The life of an exile is not a very happy one; the sketch of the career of Joseph Mazzini illustrates this. Ledru Rollin, in his "Decadence de l'Angleterre," says: "Proscribed, we bore with us the sacred right of misfortune, which even amongst barbarians was regarded as a kind of public religion. How has it been respected? We have been each day submitted to insult; the English aristocracy has drawn us about on its journalistic hurdles, denouncing

us to its people as convicts escaped from the galleys, as miserable bandits, as the refuse of the sewers of Paris." Ledru Rollin endured exile for nearly twenty-one years.

In 1870, now with whitened hair, and with his heart withered by the exile chill, Ledru Rollin once more returned to his home at Fontenay aux Roses, and was in 1871 chosen by three departments as deputy to the French Assembly, where, however, he at that time declined to sit. A Republican Society in Paris, the Alliance Républicaine, nominated Ledru Rollin as its President; but the hero of 1848 does not seem to have ever regained his old power in Paris.

At his funeral an enormous mass of Parisians gathered. His career had been honest, his devotion had been sincere. While the Empire lasted he had refused it allegiance; he had been loyal to France.

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THE lives of Owen, Mazzini, Mill, Sumner, and Ledru Rollin, present several features of likeness. To the whole of these men the clergy were bitterly hostile, for each of them was an apostle of at least some chapter of the gospel of progress. The Welshman, Robert Owen, who taught the communism imperfectly shadowed out by Jesus and his Apostles, was denounced, with more than ordinary fierceness, from nearly every pulpit in England, the Bishop of Exeter encouraging the cry from his place in the House of Lords. The Italian, Joseph Mazzini, the greatest modern preacher of Republicanism, was excommunicated by the Pope, head of a Church always hostile to liberty, and the Italian patriot was anathematised by almost the whole of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The Englishman, John Stuart Mill, had scarcely been lowered into the grave, at Avignon, when the weak-brained and orthodox *Church Herald* yelled out its curses against the scarce-cold form of one who will always rank amongst the chief of Europe's thinkers; when John Stuart Mill was invited by the electors of Westminster to allow himself to be their candidate for election to Parliament, the cry of "heretic" was loudly raised by all sects of Christian preachers, and a

Liberal dignitary in the Church was bitterly assailed because he cast his ballot for the great logician. The New Englander, Charles Sumner, the Abolitionist, was preached against alike from Northern and Southern pulpits; the unfeed pleading of the Massachusetts barrister, on behalf of dark-skinned humanity, was impartially scorned by the sects who pretended to kneel to a common father: and last, though hardly least, in the value of its testimony, the Frenchman, Ledru Rollin's grave—surrounded by the many thousands of men and women who came to honour his civil burial—marked once more the hostility between progress and the Church.

Robert Owen, though he himself died poor, having devoted to popular redemption the fortune he had created, yet lived to see thousands lifted at least a little from their poverty by the practical co-operative efforts which gradually, and after many trials, grew out of his Socialistic theories. The glory of the experiment in infant education, which he first pressed at New Lanark, was, before he died, claimed by the very religious teachers who had so long hindered all education, and who must in time be destroyed by the rescue of children's brains from the control of priestly manipulators. Joseph Mazzini did not die until his much-loved Rome had been proclaimed the capital of Italy, and—though generations of education in liberty and self-reliance will be required to efface the trace of the Divine Bourbon in Naples and in Sicily—yet the lone man's life was not without its fruitful harvest. John Stuart Mill, dying ere his strength was spent, had nevertheless found himself recognised as the thought-maker of his people. Charles Sumner, who had spoken for freedom when angry and brutal men pointed revolvers in his face; who had continued to speak for abolition when the whole continent of America cried out that the speaking was hopeless; who had fallen in the Capitol—at the close of a grand speech against slavery—bathed in his own blood, shed by a felon hand; Charles Sumner lived to see his speech grow into law. And even Ledru Rollin survived long enough to see the Imperial sham fade away, and to hear the very peasantry of France utter their yearning cry for the Republicanism to which he had devoted himself.

It will not be until another age that full justice will, or can, be awarded to the memories of these men. Statues and monuments are readily erected to princes pensioned

for the merit accruing from accident of birth, or fortune of marriage; memorial stones are easily found to record great wealth and huge rent-rolls. For the dead who lived for the poor, and died in poverty; for the dead who struggled for freedom, and died worn out in the effort to burst the shackles theretofore worn by others; for the dead who, living, were not known by fashion, nor honoured by wealth; for these the monuments can only be slowly raised, as a new generation inherits, without obstacle, the prizes of social advancement and political freedom, which these dead won with bleeding hearts and wearied brains.

# WHAT FREEMASONRY IS, WHAT IT HAS BEEN, AND WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE.

In a speech made in November, 1883, by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, he declared that Freemasonry "must be religious," and that "as long as religion remains engrafted in the hearts of the craft in our country, the craft is certain to flourish; and be assured of this, brethren," he adds, "that when religion in it ceases, the craft will also lose its power and its stability". This is not at all the view of Freemasonry taken by the present Pope, as may be seen by reference to the encyclical letter of 20th April, 1884, in which he declares that by the jealousy of the devil the world is divided into two hostile camps, one for, and the other against, all virtue and truth. In the last-named the Pope puts all Freemasons. "In our time", he says, "the doers of evil appear to have coalesced, by an immense effort, prompted and aided by a wide-spread and strongly-organised society, 'the Freemasons'. These in effect do not give themselves the trouble to disguise their intent, and they rival each other in audacity against God's august majesty. Publicly and in the face of Heaven they undertake to ruin the holy church, in order, if it be possible, to completely rob Christian nations of the benefits owing to the Savior Jesus Christ." Pope Leo XIII. reminds the members of the Roman Catholic Church that his predecessor Clement XII., on 24th April, 1738, first denounced Freemasonry, and that this denunciation was confirmed by Benoit XIV., on the 18th May, 1751. For

nearly three-quarters of a century the occupants of the Papal chair were apparently silent; but in 1821 Pius VII. followed in the steps of Clement and Benoit. On the 13th March, 1825, Pope Leo XII., in the Apostolic constitution *Quo Graviora*, reiterated the acts and decrees of the before-mentioned Popes and confirmed them for ever. Pius VIII., by his encyclical letter of the 21st May, 1829; Gregory XII., by an encyclic of 15th August, 1832; and Pius IX., on the 9th November, 1846, the 25th September, 1865, and on other occasions, issued similar solemn and vigorous denunciations of Freemasonry. The Sacred Conclave "denounced publicly the sect of Freemasons as a criminal association, not less pernicious to the interests of Christianity than to those of civilised society; and it decreed, therefore, against Freemasons the gravest penalties with which the church strikes the guilty, and forbade anyone to join the Masonic body". Leo XIII. declares that in the past century and a half, Freemasonry has made an incredible advance. "Employing at the same time ruse and daring, it has invaded every rank of the social hierarchy, and has assumed in the head of modern states a power almost equal to sovereignty." The Pope affirms that: "It being the great interest of Freemasons to appear other than they are, they pretend to figure as friends of literature or philosophy, and to gather together in pursuit of science, and they speak solely of their zeal for civilisation and their love for the poor. To hear them, their only object is to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to extend to the greatest number of mankind the advantages of civil society." But this Leo XIII. declares to be all the merest pretence, and intended to hide the real objects of the Masonic body. The Pope further complains, that the Masonic body leaves to those who become initiated complete liberty of utterance either in affirming or denying the existence of deity, and that those who deny are as readily received as those who believe. Leo XIII. also complains that Freemasons make marriage a civil contract, which may be legally dissolved by a judicial tribunal, and that they maintain that there is no obligation to give religious instruction to children. He still further charges that Freemasons teach that the source of all sovereign power should be in a free people, and that those who exercise executive functions can only

do so lawfully by the popular consent. Nothing more perverse than this, says the Pope, can be possibly imagined. "In effect, to wish to destroy the religion and church established by God himself, and assured by him of his perpetual protection, to bring back amongst us, after eighteen centuries, the manners and institutions of the Pagans, is it not the fulness of madness and the most audacious impiety?" As the statements of the actual head of the Roman Catholic Church and of the present Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England so absolutely conflict, it is proposed, as far as possible, to give citations from some authorities bearing upon the matter before expressing any independent opinion.

Hutchinson, in his "Spirit of Masonry", maintains that the worship of God "was the first, and corner, stone on which our originals thought it expedient to place the foundation of Masonry"; and Colonel Shadwell Clerk, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, writes: "The Grand Lodge of England holds, and has ever held, that a belief in God is the first great landmark of all true and genuine Masonry, without professing which, as the cardinal principle of its existence, no body can rightfully claim to inherit the traditions and practices of pure and ancient Masonry".

Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, the learned honorary member of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, Scotland, in his "Royal Masonic Cyclopædia", whilst conceding that Atheism is "a state of mind which many of the wisest and best of men have for a time entertained", yet adds: "Very rightly no Atheist is admitted to the privileges of Freemasonry; but once ballotted in, if he chooses to sign the candidates' book and to join in the ritual, there is nothing to exclude him; but in order to do this he must be either a hypocrite or a coward;" and in another place he writes: "Masonry is not an irreligious institution, but it assumes no special dogmatic form; it demands at the hands of its candidates a sincere and honest belief in a creative spirit ever attentive to the honorable aspirations of those who seek him in spirit and in truth, and it rejects with scorn those who would degrade the contriver into a part of the contrivance".

Freemasonry in the United States of America is the survival of the lodges originally established in the North

American colonies under the warrant of the Grand Lodge of England, and in Davis' "Freemason's Monitor" we find, following the old York Lodge constitution, under the head of "God and religion": "Whoever . . . desires to be a Mason . . . is firmly to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who will be the judge of our actions and reward us according to merit, to pay him that worship and veneration which is due to him, as the great architect of the universe"; and further: "a Mason . . . if he properly understands the fundamental rules of our order, he will never be an Atheist".

In the constitution, statutes, and general rules of the Rite Ecossais as promulgated in Belgium, it is declared that as religion is a duty of worship necessarily due to Almighty God, no person can be admitted who is not submitted to the duties of the religion of the country of which he is a native.

Monseigneur Dupanloup takes a very different view of what the Grand Orient of Belgium has been for the past twenty years, for—basing his accusation on the movement for secular education—he charges that body with drawing up a scheme of educational legislation, which he summarises as "a scheme of compulsory infidelity".

Clavel, in his work on "Freemasonry", quoted by Louis Blanc in the chapter on "Les Révolutionnaires Mystiques", says: "To believe in God was the only religious duty required from the accepted candidate. Therefore there was above the throne of the president of each lodge a shining delta, in the centre of which the name Jehovah was written in Hebrew letters."

In 1850 there was founded in London the Grand Lodge "des Philadelphes" by Masons foreigners to England, but belonging to various Masonic orders acknowledged in Europe. Amongst its members were Joseph Mazzini, Joseph Garibaldi, Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin. The first article of its general statutes reads: "Freemasonry is an institution essentially philanthropical, philosophical, and progressive. It has for its object the amelioration of mankind without any distinction of class, color, or opinion, either philosophical, political, or religious; for its unchangeable motto: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

In consequence of a decision in 1877 by the Grand *Orient of France*, erasing from its procedure all references

to the Grand Architect of the Universe, the Grand Lodge of England practically excommunicated the Grand Orient of France by a resolution supported by the following statement: "Regarding the belief in the existence of the Grand Architect of the Universe as one of the principles upon which Freemasonry is founded, we cannot allow an express negation of this principle to pass, and we cannot recognise (as Freemasons) those who deny it".

In 1884 the Assembly General of the Grand Orient of France, in its revised constitution, says: "Freemasonry has for principles, mutual toleration, self-respect and respect for others, absolute liberty of conscience. Considering metaphysical concepts as belonging exclusively to the domain of the individual appreciation of each member, it refuses to make any dogmatic affirmation."

In 1877 the Grand Orient declared: "Freemasonry has for principles absolute liberty of conscience and human solidarity. It excludes no man for his beliefs."

In an official circular, issued by the Grand Orient of France in 1877, immediately after the alteration, it is stated: "Nothing is changed either in Masonic principles or practices. French Freemasonry remains, what it has always been, a fraternal and tolerant association. Respect the religious and political convictions of its adepts, it leaves to each in these delicate questions the fullest liberty of conscience. Working for the moral and intellectual improvement and well-being of mankind, it only asks from those who are admitted into its midst those sentiments of honesty and love of virtue which will permit them to co-operate usefully in the work of progress and civilisation."

Dr. Louis Aimable, the orator of the General Assembly of the Grand Orient of France for the Session of 1884, in his closing address of the Convent says: "In inscribing amongst our principles mutual tolerance, respect for others and self-respect, we innovate only in form, for we have already recognised and practised these principles. But it was well that they should be printed at the head of our constitution, for they are characteristics common to universal Freemasonry in the midst of varieties arising from differences of organisation and diversities of social condition. And this too takes away henceforth all pretext for the disastrous misconception which, following the vote of 1877,

transformed into a profession of Atheism the suppression of the Deistic affirmation which had been introduced into our fundamental law only 25 years before. None can now in good faith consider us as negators when, whilst reserving the individual convictions of each, we simply refuse as a collective body to affirm concepts which cannot be possibly verified by any process of scientific investigation—that is to say either by observation or experience."

On the 8th February, 1885, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham issued a pastoral letter "to the clergy and faithful" of his diocese, in which he declares that English Freemasonry is equally to be condemned with that of France. He writes: "The Society is one and universal, and a common responsibility is assumed by all who join it. The Papal condemnation and the Papal excommunication fall on all such equally. There are abundant proofs that the English and Scotch Masons are one with those of the continent"; and then, referring to the action of the Grand Lodge of England already recited, the Roman Catholic Bishop proceeds: "It is much insisted on, indeed, that the English lodges have disowned those of France since the latter refused to make the acknowledgment of God a condition of membership and erased the mention of God from their formularies. It seems to us to matter little whether they acknowledge or did not acknowledge 'a grand architect of the universe', for in saying architect they already implicitly deny the true God, who is the creator of heaven and earth. Let us suppose, however, that the recent refusal to communicate with the Grand Orient of France was intended as an act of homage to God. But are not the English Freemasons who are Christians thereby judged and condemned out of their own mouths? If to erase and omit all mention of God be an insult to God, why is not the omission of all mention of Christ in their own lodges an insult to Christ? If they will not communicate in their rites and ceremonies with an avowed Atheist, why do they so readily and freely communicate in them with avowed anti-Christians, such as Jews, Turks, and infidels?" "In very truth", adds the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham, "Freemasonry is an anti-Christian institution".

Is Freemasonry an institution Atheistic and revolutionary in its tendencies, such as is painted from the Vatican? or *as denounced by* the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham?

or is it fairly represented as an almost orthodox Christian fraternity, as by the declarations and practices of the Grand Lodge of England? or is there one Freemasonry of England and the English Colonies and another of the European Continent? and if it be true that there is difference of doctrine and of practice in any of the great Masonic bodies, then which of these represents the truer Freemasonry?

Is Freemasonry real in England as an institution on the whole fairly charitable, but specially noteworthy for its lodge dinners and social gatherings, and its high aristocracy of office? or is it real as in France, Italy, Belgium, as an institution in which equality is advocated and sought in fraternity by the education of the ignorant, the enfranchisement of the enslaved, the strengthening of the weak?

It is impossible to answer without looking to the history of Freemasonry as well as to its official declarations. Louis Blanc in his "Histoire de la Révolution Francaise", book 1, cap. 3, says: "On the eve of the French Revolution Freemasonry found that it had secured an immense development. Spread through the whole of Europe it seconded the meditative genius of Germany, silently agitated France, and everywhere presented the picture of a society founded on principles the opposite of those prevalent in civil society. In the Masonic lodges the pretentions of hereditary pride were disregarded, and the privileges of birth set on one side. When the candidate for initiation entered into the chamber for reflexion, he read upon the walls hung with black and covered with funereal emblems the following characteristic inscription: 'If you hold to class distinctions go away; there are none known here'. From the discourse of the orator on reception the new comer learned that the object of Freemasonry was to efface the distinctions of color, rank, and country; to extirpate national hatreds. . . . . Thus, by the sole fact of its constitutive basis, Freemasonry tended to decry the institutions and ideas of the external world. . . . . In the bosom of the lodge rich and poor, noble and plebeian, were bound to recognise each other as equal, to call each 'brother'."

In truth there are two Masonic currents drifting in very opposite directions. For more than two hundred and fifty years there has been in Europe a royalist and a democratic

Freemasonry. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, when the Stuart power was first broken by the Commonwealth, the Cavaliers almost monopolised the lodges. In 1688, when James II. fled to France, the aristocratic exiles established lodges in that country which were purely associations in which the royalist conspirators encouraged one another, and by communication with their brethren in England kept alive the Jacobite spirit. It is said that there was a chapter founded at Arras by the Pretender, Charles Edward, of which the father of Robespierre was Master.

In England and Scotland the spirit of the Stuart and Jacobite period has survived in Masonic circles, and there is not in any British Masonic lodge any other tendency than to support Royalism and respectability. This was so recognised in England that when, in the Tory reaction of 1819, sweeping enactments of harsh and oppressive character were passed against nearly all kinds of associations, the Freemasons were specially exempted from the penalties imposed against bodies who used secret signs and passwords, and exacted oaths or pledges of secrecy from those who became members.

In 1772, when Philippe Egalité was Grand Master of the Grand Orient of France, French Freemasonry really adopted the democratic basis which, despite the various troubles it has had to struggle against, it has preserved to the present day.

A recent letter by the *Times* Paris correspondent shows that he regards Freemasonry in France as a vital political force, one capable of giving and, as he thinks, actually now giving, important support to M. Henri Brisson, the new Prime Minister.

In the United States, American Freemasons for a long time excluded all colored men, and there are still, I believe, lodges where this prohibition is maintained, but I have been present in a New England lodge at the same time with the colored King of the Hawaian Islands, and with Joshua Smith, the devoted friend of Sumner, born a slave, and afterwards Senator of the State of Massachusetts.

In England, since the cessation of Jacobite plots, the carefully guarded forms, signs, and pass words, have concealed nothing that all the world, enemies and friends, *might not have* known: they were as the elaborate letter

lock to the empty iron chest. In France and in Italy the lodge doors served as shields to the proscribed; the grip and word often sufficed to denote and guarantee the imperilled brother struggling for human redemption under conditions always of great difficulty, and sometimes of serious danger. In England an advertisement card or signboard showed that the brethren expected commercial preferences. On the Continent the help given was to the fraternal worker for human freedom. The spirit of modern Freemasonry is not unfairly stated by Dr. Louis Aimable, speaking in his official capacity as Orator General of the Grand Orient of France, in the closing speech of the Assembly General. Declaring that Freemasonry works for the moral and material amelioration, and intellectual and social perfection of humankind, he adds: "This means that we co-operate to prepare mankind, to the best of our strength and means, for the solution of the many and complex questions which together make up what is called the social question: that is to say, that lamentable question of misery and suffering which has endured under various forms from the very earliest ages. We mean that these questions shall be solved, not by violence, nor by predetermined systems, but by the progressive application of our principles, so as to more and more diminish the number of disinherited and to render them less and less miserable. In preparing such solutions we work for the common happiness, social peace, and progress of the country".

True Freemasonry should be of no religion. The Scotch Chaplain who, in his printed speech, points to the Bible used in the lodges and accepted as the word of God, forgets that this cannot be true for such Jews as are brethren—at any rate as far as the New Testament is concerned—nor for the Mahommedan brother. Yet there are most certainly hundreds of Jewish and Mahommedan Freemasons. In Constantinople, in Odessa, in Cairo, as in Paris, Berlin, and London; in Ceylon and the Hawaian Islands, as in Italy and Spain, there are Masonic temples where those who are ranged to either pillar, as well as the illustrious seated in the east, are avowedly of distinct and often of opposing faiths. But under the temple roof the strife of creeds should be hushed, work should be the only worship: work for the redemption of long-suffering humankind.

# PAMPHLETS BY CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

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| The True Story of my Parliamentary Struggle. Containing a Verbatim Report of the proceedings before the Select Committee of the House of Commons; Mr. Bradlaugh's Three Speeches at the Bar of the House, etc., etc. .. | 0 | 6 |
| Fourth Speech at the Bar of the House of Commons. .. | 0 | ½ |
| May the House of Commons Commit Treason? .. .. | 0 | ½ |
| Correspondence with Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P. .. | 0 | 2 |
| John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, "Mob, Scum, and Dregs" .. .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| A Cardinal's Broken Oath .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Perpetual Pensions. Fortieth thousand .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| Civil Lists and Grants to Royal Family .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| A Radical Programme .. .. .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| Real Representation of the People .. .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| How are we to Abolish the Lords? .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Objections to Socialism .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| England's Balance-Sheet .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Why do Men Starve? .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Jesus, Shelley, and Malthus: an Essay on the Population Question .. .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| Poverty and its effect upon the People .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Labor's Prayer .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| The Land, the People, and the Coming Struggle .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| India. A lecture .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Five Dead Men whom I knew when living. Sketches of Robert Owen, Joseph Mazzini, John Stuart Mill, Charles Sumner, and Ledru Rollin .. .. .. .. | 0 | 4 |
| Cromwell and Washington: a Contrast .. .. .. | 0 | 6 |
| Anthropology. In neat wrapper .. .. .. | 0 | 4 |
| When were our Gospels Written? .. .. .. | 0 | 6 |
| Plea for Atheism .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 3 |
| Has Man a Soul? .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| Is there a God? .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Who was Jesus Christ? .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| What did Jesus Teach? .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| The Twelve Apostles .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| The Atonement .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Life of David .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 2 |
| Life of Jacob .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Life of Abraham .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Life of Moses .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Life of Jonah .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| A Few Words about the Devil .. .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Were Adam and Eve our First Parents? .. .. | 0 | 1 |
| Heresy; its Morality and Utility. A Plea and a Justification .. .. .. .. .. .. | 0 | 9 |
| The Laws Relating to Blasphemy and Heresy .. .. | 0 | 6 |

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# THE CHANNEL TUNNEL:

## OUGHT THE DEMOCRACY TO OPPOSE OR SUPPORT IT?

I WENT down to the House of Commons on August 3rd intending to speak and vote in favor of the second reading of the Channel Tunnel Experimental Works Bill, but on the appeal made first by the Chairman of Committees, and repeated by the leader of the House—an appeal also concurred in by Mr. John Morley, speaking on behalf of the front Opposition bench—I refrained from speaking, and contented myself with a silent vote in favor of the measure. Since then I find such a concurrence of opinion in the press hostile to the Channel Tunnel that I think it my duty to publicly state my reasons for my vote, especially as Sir Edward Watkin, in moving the Bill, directly asked for an expression of opinion from the English democracy, and on the division being taken the representatives of labor in the House were in opposing lobbies on the question. A circular signed by Mr. C. Sheath, Secretary *pro tem.* of the Channel Tunnel Company, clearly stated the objects of the Bill voted on, *i.e.*, "To authorise the promoters to prosecute the experimental works which they have commenced at their own cost under authority granted

by Parliamant in 1874, to test the practicability of constructing a tunnel beneath the Straits of Dover"; and explained that "the Bill empowers her Majesty's Government, in the event of the experimental works proving successful, to sanction the prosecution of permanent works under such conditions and safeguards as the Government in their absolute discretion may impose. The experimental works for which permission is now sought will be made upon the promoters' own property and at their own cost. The public are not asked to contribute towards the work, which will not impose any pecuniary obligation upon the country."

I, however, quite admit that those who are prepared to support the experimental works ought also to be prepared—in the event of these workings proving successful—to authorise the construction of a complete working tunnel, and that any objections which might be valid as against the complete undertaking ought to be admitted as conclusive against the experimental proposal. I am personally in favor of the Channel Tunnel because I believe it would promote peaceful relations between the peoples of France and England. I am not a shareholder in either the French or English scheme solely because I have not the pecuniary means to acquire shares.

I believe that peaceful relations between Great Britain and Europe would be rendered more probable by the facilities afforded for commercial intercommunication. I hold that the more peoples trade with each other, the more they know one another, the less likely they are to fight one another. It is because I am in favor of peace between France and England that I am in favor of the Channel Tunnel. Here I only reaffirm what was so well

said by the late Richard Cobden, speaking on this very question of a tunnel between England and the Continent: "It is not enough to put the Government and the higher classes of each country on a friendly footing; that good feeling ought to penetrate the masses of the two nations; and it is our duty to multiply all the means for an incessant contact, which will certainly put an end to superannuated prejudices and old ideas of antagonism."

The horribly increased and always augmenting European army and navy expenditure of the last twenty-five years, the British share of which Lord Randolph Churchill now strongly denounces, can only be efficiently checked by concurrent and decided peace action on the part of all European peoples. The great need for early disarming is admitted. The peaceful co-operation of France and England would enable each, relying on the other's good will, to waste less money in warlike preparations. It is in this interest that I support the proposed submarine pathway between this island and the Continent. I believe that increased facilities for friendly intercourse would promote and secure the peaceful co-operation I desire.

Something has already been done towards showing that the Channel betwixt Kent and the Pas de Calais can be tunnelled. Last year I visited the works, near Shakspere's Cliff, on the west of Dover, and penetrated under the sea to the place where the engine, worked by compressed air, had bored from England through the greyish clay chalk 1½ miles in the direction of France. I found the piece of tunnel already executed quite dry; the air was perfectly pure, the ventilation being provided by the compressed air which works the boring machine; and the work of tunnelling—which under the supervision of a Government official was allowed

to be continued for a few seconds—seemed astonishingly easy, as the revolution of the machine cut the chalk away and delivered it into the waggon behind ready for removal. The experimental tunnel is bored in the strata which are supposed to represent the continuous earth surface—between what are now the coasts of France and England—in prehistoric times when the land, now these islands, formed part of the great European continent. Messieurs Lavalley, Larousse, Potier, and Lapparent, in their report to the French Channel Tunnel Company, presented in 1877, say: "Examination of the cliffs on each coast of the Straits shows that the geological strata are the same in the area which concerns us, and which includes especially the cretaceous formation. On both sides are the same strata, with the same characteristics, and, remarkable to say, with the same thickness. Hence the presumption—authorised indeed by other considerations—that in the prehistoric period, instead of an arm of the sea, separating two coasts, there stretched here a continuous, more or less undulating, plain, between the points at which have since been built Calais and Boulogne on the one side, Folkestone and Dover on the other. According to this hypothesis, the Straits would be due to the gradual erosion of a soil of slight consistency, such as the cretaceous formation in general, which yielded before the ceaseless repetition of blows from the waves of the Northern Sea, a sea so stormy during the rougher months of the year. From this we gather the hope that the strata encountered beneath the sea, through which the tunnel must be driven, will be free from serious dislocations, and will only present slight undulations to which it will generally be possible to conform the plan of the subterranean railway without any great difficulty.

"This hope is confirmed by the following circumstance: the strata of the chalk formation on the two sides of the Straits, although thrown out of the horizontal plane they first occupied, have not acquired a steep inclination. The inclination is always slight. Over the greater part of the area of the Straits, starting from France, the gradient is but $\frac{1}{7}$, a fact that seems to indicate that the force of the upheaval which threw the strata out of the horizontal plane was not violent."

I am told that on the French side a similar boring to the one which I visited near Dover has been made towards this country, so that about one-eighth of the experimental work has already been executed. Why is it not continued to completion? The promoters on both sides are ready enough; the French Government is willing; but the British Government—influenced as I think by the worst form of national prejudice—absolutely forbids further working on this side, and the French are of course unwilling to continue costly works—which can only be completed with our full consent—until that consent is officially secured. The only reason for objecting to the Channel Tunnel is that it will render us specially liable to invasion. Some contend that the Tunnel will not pay; but that, as the British Government said thirteen years ago, is rather the business of those who, believing in the probabilities of its financial success, are willing to risk their moneys in the hope of reasonable financial profit. The war danger is the only cry to which the democracy need pay any attention. When the matter was discussed between the Governments of Great Britain and France thirteen years ago, this war danger was examined by the Government of the day of this country

and dismissed as not serious. In a despatch from the Foreign Office to Count de Jarnac, the French Ambassador, dated 24th December, 1874, the Earl of Derby wrote that "Her Majesty's Government consider that it is for the promoters of the undertaking to weigh well the questions of the physical possibility of the undertaking, and its probable financial success; but they see no objection to the proposed preliminary concession to the French promoters, for the execution of the preliminary works, for a term of three years, nor to the concession of five years for making a definite contract with an English Company for the completion of the undertaking, on the understanding that, should the promoters fail to fulfil these conditions, the land in England occupied by them, and the works upon it, should revert to the Crown, or other present owners thereof, so that the occupation of the land by a Company which has failed, may not stand in the way of any other undertaking.

"Her Majesty's Government have no objection to offer to the proposed grant to the promoters of a monopoly for thirty years after the final completion of and opening of the tunnel, nor to the concession itself extending to a period of ninety-nine years from the same date, the question being reserved of some limitation being imposed as to the date of the final completion."

And it is clear that the military side of the question had not been overlooked, for Lord Derby in a dispatch of the same date to Lord Lyons says: "In regard to the reference made in the papers received from Count de Jarnac to the military necessities of either country, her Majesty's Government will only now observe that they must retain absolute power not only to erect and maintain such works

at the English mouth of the tunnel as they may deem expedient, but also, should they apprehend danger of war, or of intended war, to stop traffic through the tunnel; and it remains to be considered whether they should not have the right to exercise their power without claim for compensation."

Nor was the military question neglected or glossed over, for two months later the following memorandum was submitted to the Surveyor-General of Ordnance by Sir W. Drummond Jervois, Deputy-Director of Works, on 3rd March, 1875, Sir Frederick Chapman being at that time the Inspector-General of Fortifications:

"MEMORANDUM WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSED TUNNEL BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

"There appears to be no military objection to the proposed tunnel, provided due precautions be adopted.

"Should this country, in alliance with France, be at war with another Continental power, the existence of the tunnel might be advantageous.

"Should this country be at war with France, the proposed tunnel could no doubt be readily closed. Having regard, however, to the possibility of the tunnel being unnecessarily injured under the influence of panic, and to the probable cost of repairing such injury, it is desirable to obviate, as far as possible, the necessity for adopting extreme measures, and with this object to pay due regard to defensive considerations in the construction of the tunnel.

"Moreover, unless proper military precautions be taken, it might under some circumstances happen that France might be able, in anticipation of a declaration of war, to

send a body of troops through the tunnel, and thus obtain an important military advantage. Such a body of troops could readily intrench themselves, and could be rapidly reinforced.

"If, however, suitable defensive arrangements are made, such an undertaking would be impracticable, and even in case of war being imminent, no fears need be entertained which might lead to the partial destruction of this costly work."

In April, 1876, the French Ambassador at the Court of St. James applied on behalf of La Société Française Concessionnaire du Chemin de Fer Sous-Marin entre la France et l'Angleterre for the permission of her Majesty's Government to take soundings in British waters near Dover for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the bottom of that part of the English Channel, and the Board of Trade were informed by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, on the 10th June following, that the necessary application had been granted.

Although a Channel Tunnel Company, with Lord Stalbridge (then Lord R. Grosvenor) as chairman, had obtained an Act of Parliament in 1875 authorising the commencement of experimental tunnelling works, nothing was really done by way of submarine boring from the English coast until the summer of 1880, when the borings just referred to were commenced by the South Eastern Railway, which obtained special powers from Parliament in 1881 for continuing the work and purchasing the necessary land. These works and powers were taken over and continued in 1882 by the Submarine Continental Railway Company, Limited. The new company, however, found [redacted]elf almost immediately interrupted in the work by the

intervention of the English Government, such intervention being the result of a panic created by military alarmists.

In August, 1881, the Board of Trade wrote to the Admiralty that "the work of forming a subway under the Channel was making considerable progress", and that "public susceptibility having been aroused as to possible danger to this country from a tunnel under the Channel", the Board desired "to be fortified with the opinion of the naval and military authorities".

In January, 1882, Admiral Cooper Key sounded the panic trumpet, and did much to excite the opposition which has, up to the present, proved fatally obstructive to the progress of the English borings.

In May, 1882, a memorandum—most important because issued after the panic opposition had got into full cry—was issued by Sir John Adye, then Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, embodying the report of a military committee, presided over by General Sir A. Alison, which had been instructed to consider "the means by which, supposing the Channel Tunnel completed, its use could be interdicted to an enemy in time of war". Sir J. Adye says: "The military precautions necessary to provide against such a contingency almost naturally divide themselves into two parts:—1. The defence or command of the exit by means of batteries and fortifications. 2. The closing or destruction of the tunnel itself, either temporarily or permanently, both as regards its land and submarine portions. The Committee have dealt with both points in some detail. As regards the former they urge, that whilst the land portion of the tunnel should be constructed in the vicinity of a fortress, it is also important that its exit should lie outside but under the full command of the

batteries in the outworks of the fortress itself. With respect to the partial closing or entire destruction of the tunnel, both in its land and submarine portions, the Committee have entered into various details, and have made numerous proposals by which, if necessary, these objects may be accomplished. According to my judgment their recommendations, both as to defence and closure, are sound and practical, can be carried on without great cost or difficulty, and will amply suffice for the objects in view. I agree with them that the general line of the land portion of the tunnel had better be constructed not far from the lines of a fortress, whilst the exit should also be under the command of the guns of its outworks. Such a disposition of the tunnel will facilitate the arrangements in respect to the preparation of mines, etc., whilst a full command of the mouth will render its use or occupation by an enemy practically impossible. The various details and proposals of the Committee as to obstruction and closure, partial or permanent, are such as, I think, will commend themselves to engineers, civil or military, as being efficacious for the purpose; and I would further point out that whilst they are comparatively simple, it is evident they can be multiplied indefinitely, and have the further advantage, that the possession of the tunnel and its exit by an enemy would not prevent their being carried into effect; and even should some of them fail, such a contingency would not necessarily entail the failure of others. The means of obstruction, in short, are not only various but are independent of each other, and many of them could be improvised or multiplied even at the last moment. Nothing, indeed, is more obvious than the facility with which the tunnel can be denied to an enemy,

by means which no vigilance on his part could prevent or remove." And yet the British democracy are in 1887 asked to reject the tunnel scheme because a real or counterfeit fear, in any case begotten of ignorance and prejudice, has seized on some of our "great generals" and hysterical journalists.

In April, 1883, a joint Select Committee of the Lords and Commons, five members from each House, was appointed "to inquire whether it is expedient that Parliamentary sanction should be given to a submarine communication between England and France; and to consider whether any or what conditions should be imposed by Parliament in the event of such communication being sanctioned". This Committee, presided over by the Marquis of Lansdowne, held fifteen sittings, but although several draft reports were prepared none was accepted, but the majority of the Committee, six against four, were of "opinion that it is not expedient that Parliamentary sanction should be given to a submarine communication between England and France". The minority report presented by Lord Lansdowne is a paper of remarkable ability, and sets out with great clearness the reasons for and against the proposed tunnel.

General Sir Edward Hamley, M.P., who rose to speak against the tunnel, as I rose to speak in its favor, but who did not deliver his speech for the same reason which kept me silent, wrote a letter to the *Times*, which the editor, also hostile to the tunnel, says, "contrasts the position of an invading army which had succeeded in effecting a landing before a tunnel was formed with that of such an army in the event of a tunnel being constructed—its helplessness and peril, the difficulty in getting supplies

or reinforcements, the risk that we should again obtain command of the Channel in the former case, and the power to draw indefinite supplies through the tunnel in the latter case. The letter brings into relief the fact that even if we succeeded in preventing an invader from coming on our soil by means of this communication, it would be a great aid to invaders who had actually made good their footing otherwise." "'The possession of both ends would render the invader independent of the sea. . . . Night and day a stream of troops and supplies would be pouring through the tunnel, possibly under the keels of our victorious but helpless Channel fleet. Now, in this case—and I would impress this point—it would no longer be a contest between two armies, but between the entire military resources of France on the one side and what we could oppose on the other.' Thus a tunnel makes hostile occupation, if not invasion, easier."

I submit that this is really carrying panic to madness point, for, if an invading army, large enough and strong enough to capture Dover, had landed otherwise than through the tunnel, our state must have become so hopeless that discussion as to how such an enemy would get supplies and reinforcement would cease to be material. Such an army so invading England, otherwise than by the tunnel, would be as dangerous to England whether or not the tunnel existed.

The view now put forward by Sir E. Hamley was fully raised and considered in 1883, and discussed in the Minority Report of Lord Lansdowne, Lord Aberdare, the Right Hon. W. E. Baxter, and Mr. Peel, now Speaker of the House of Commons. The editor of the *Times* treats Sir E. Hamley's objection as not having been answered;

but it was in truth exhaustively examined and completely answered in that Report. In paragraph 92 the Report examines *seriatim* the principal apprehensions expressed for the safety of the tunnel. "These are to the effect that it might pass into the hands of an enemy—

"(1) By surprise, effected through the tunnel itself;

"(2) By surprise, effected by a force landed in the neighborhood of the tunnel, with or without the aid of troops passed through the tunnel;

"(3) By surprise, facilitated by treachery;

"(4) After investment by an invading force;

"(5) By cession as the condition of a disastrous peace."

All these apprehensions are really expressions of fear of hostility from France. If anyone of these apprehensions had carried weight with Italy, Germany, or France, the St. Gothard Tunnel, or the Mont Cenis Tunnel would never have been made. The three suppositions, 1, 2, and 3, are possible in case of an attempt made by Frenchmen when France and England are both at peace, and indeed this is Lord Wolseley's contention. "The seizing of the tunnel by a *coup de main* is, in my opinion," says his lordship, "a very simple operation, *provided it be done without any previous warning or intimation whatever* by those who wish to invade the country." "My contention is, that were a tunnel made, England, as a nation, could be destroyed *without any warning whatever, when Europe was in a condition of profound peace*. . . . . the whole plan is based upon the assumption of its being carried out *during a time of profound peace between the two nations*, and whilst we were enjoying life in the security and unsuspicion of a fool's paradise."

My short answer to this wild contention is that all

intercourse between nations would be impossible and life would be unendurable, if in time of "profound peace" we are always to treat neighboring nations as ever ready without provocation to suddenly assail our shores in order to rob and destroy. The European experience of the past century is entirely against the monstrous contention put forward by Lord Wolseley that France might suddenly surprise us whilst we were in peace and alliance with her and all European powers. It is an insult to suspect our French neighbors of any such possible treason. The repetition of such insulting suspicions is in itself a provocation. In modern times there is no instance of any outbreak of hostilities between two great powers which has not been preceded at least by rumors and expressions of uneasiness and highly strained diplomatic negotiations on the points likely to culminate in rupture of peaceful relations. Yet, except on such a traitorous surprise, Lord Wolseley himself guarantees the safety of the tunnel, for he says that, if sufficient notice were to be given, "fifty men at the entrance of the tunnel can prevent an army of 100,000 men coming through it".

The strongest military objections to the proposed tunnel are those stated with considerable literary skill, heightened by strong flavor of romance, in the long Memorandum of Adjutant-General Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley, dated 16th June, 1882. The weight of Lord Wolseley's objections on military grounds is a little weakened by the almost special pleading in which he indulges on the commercial and diplomatic aspects of the question. The whole attitude of Lord Wolseley towards the Channel tunnel is that of an advocate who has a very hostile brief. He is not in this memorandum a serious military

counsellor, warning his countrymen against real dangers. He has recourse to poetry, pathos, general denunciation of treaties as valueless, and to tricks of curiously irrelevant appeal to national passion and national fear.

Every objection stated by Lord Wolseley was seriously weighed by Lord Lansdowne and those who concurred in the minority report.

"With regard to the possibility of seizing the English end of the tunnel by means of a small force landed in its neighborhood," Lord Lansdowne and those concurring with him report: "we have endeavored to ascertain precisely the conditions, of which the presence would be indispensable if such an attempt were to have any chance of success. Those conditions would, we understand, be the following:

"(1.) It would be necessary that the invading force should be despatched with absolute secrecy.

"(2.) That it should cross the Channel unobserved and unmolested by our fleet.

"(3.) That the state of the weather should offer no difficulties to the disembarcation.

"(4.) That its landing should be effected without hindrance.

"(5.) That it should advance without molestation from the point at which it might be landed to the works by which the exit of the tunnel would be protected.

"(6.) That it should find the garrison in a state of absolute unpreparedness.

"(7.) That it should succeed in carrying by a simultaneous rush the whole of the various works surrounding the exit of the tunnel.

"(8.) That this capture should be effected so rapidly as

to render it impossible for the defenders of those works to have recourse to any of the means which would be in existence for the purpose of closing or destroying the tunnel, *or*, that the whole of those means should simultaneously chance to be out of working order.

"That every one of these conditions should be present at the same time appears to us most improbable. We can well conceive that, with the rapid communications now available for the movement of troops by land or sea, a force such as that contemplated might be collected and despatched, and possibly reach our coasts without warning. That its landing, formation, and forward movement could altogether escape detection we can scarcely conceive. It would, we learn from Admiral Rice, take twelve hours, even under the most favorable conditions, and assuming the landing to be unresisted, to land 20,000 men, the force contemplated by Sir Lintorn Simmons. Such a force could not, however, in Admiral Rice's opinion, be landed without attracting attention. A smaller body could, of course, be landed with greater rapidity, but the diminution of its numbers would not increase its chance of success. A force of 1,000 men could, Sir Cooper Key informs us, be landed under favorable circumstances in an hour; 'the larger the number of men,' however, this witness adds, 'the more the difficulties that would arise against the time, but I have no hesitation in saying, that if they were equipped for it, with boats properly prepared, and a good clear beach, they could land 10,000 men under ten hours.' That such a force, or one approaching to it in strength, should be able to traverse without detection or hindrance, the distance intervening between the point of landing and the exit of the tunnel, which, unless the recommendations

of the military committee are altogether disregarded, would be at a considerable distance from the shore, appears to us difficult to conceive; were it to be detected, and the alarm given, the complete surprise of the garrisons of the different forts would no longer be possible."

One most extraordinary objection to the tunnel was gravely urged before the joint Committee of Lords and Commons in the evidence by the late Mr. Ecroyd, M.P. for Preston, in answer to a suggestive question from the Earl of Devon: "EARL OF DEVON: You spoke of the probable influence you anticipated from the introduction of French labor upon the pecuniary interests of the British workman in the manufacturing departments of industry with which you are concerned; does it occur to you that any other evil might arise by the spread of Socialistic or Communistic views from an increased intercourse between the large body of French and English workmen?—MR. E.: That is an apprehension that is very often felt; and I believe we have found that, specially in periods of slackness of employment and discontent, there would be an active propaganda of an Atheistic and Socialistic kind." As though any ideas now circulated in France or on the Continent could be hindered from permeating here by mere refusal to construct a submarine tunnel! Lord Wolseley and the Duke of Cambridge fear that French soldiers may conquer us bodily, coming for that purpose secretly through the tunnel. The Earl of Devon and Mr. Eckroyd have like fears of French Atheists and Socialists, who would find in the Channel tunnel a convenient conduit-pipe for their propaganda!

The great plague of Europe just now, and one that has been increasing in its virulence and oppressiveness for the

last quarter of a century, is the huge waste of men and material in every European country in preparing for armed offence and defence. If the figures compiled by Mr. Lewis Appleton are correct, then during the year ending 31st December, 1886, Europe had under arms, not including reserves, no less than 4,123,675 men, and the European forces available for war, including reserves, were 16,697,484. In 1886 Europe spent on army and navy no less than £187,474,522. Unless there be disarmament, there must be fierce war or terrible revolution. The burden of increasing taxation is too continuously heavy for long peaceful bearing. The rulers find pride and pomp in the controlling and array of huge masses of armed men. It is the peoples who pay and suffer.

Commerce is an eloquent peace preacher; the frequent and more complete intermingling of unarmed peoples begets distaste for war; national prejudices die away under frequent contact; explanations are easier as peoples know one another better. I am in favor of this Channel tunnel because it will give to us in this island easier means of seeing our European brethren in their own cities. It will afford to the folk of France the opportunity of knowing for themselves that the English workmen do not desire quarrel or war.

# LECTURE I.

"The question of questions for mankind—the problem which underlies all others and is more deeply interesting than any other—is the ascertainment of the place which man occupies in nature and of his relation to the universe of things. Whence our race has come; what are the limits of our power over nature, and of nature's power over us; to what goal we are tending; are the problems which present themselves anew and with undiminished interest to every man born into the world."—*Huxley*, "Man's Place in Nature."

ANTHROPOLOGY is an old compound of two Greek words signifying the science of man, and as formerly very distinct lines were drawn by those in authority between moral man and physical man, it was first used to denote the study of man moral; afterwards the study of man physical; then to include both. Denying the possibility of any absolute division lines between man moral and man physical, I should simply define Anthropology as the "science of man." Dr. Paul Broca defines Anthropology as "a science which has for its object the study of the human race, considered as a whole, in its separate individuality, and in its relations with the rest of nature." The Anthropologist considers: (1) Man in his *ensemble* so far as the group to which he belongs differs from, or is analogous to, contiguous groups in the class of mammalia to which he is in nearest relation. (2) The varieties of mankind. These varieties are commonly called races. Much difference of opinion will be found on the word race, type, species. Prichard defined "species" to mean "separate origin and distinctness of race evinced by a constant transmission of some characteristic peculiarity of organisation," and Gliddon regarded "types" as "those primitive or original forms which are independent of climatic or physical influences," and he added that "all men are more or less influenced by external causes, but these can never act with sufficient force to transform one type into another." It seems now, however, pretty clear that there are no forms or characteristic peculiarities which ought to be regarded as completely independent of climatic and physical influences.

Anthropology includes inquiry (1) into the comparative anatomy and morphology of man and other animals, especially of the mammalia, and amongst these particularly the anthropoid apes; (2) the history of all these; (3) prehistoric archæology in its bearing on them; (4) physiology, including in this psychology in health and disease. Although the study of man may be traced back to the period of the earliest efforts of the human mind, anthropology as a special science only belongs to the last quarter of a century.

The late Dr. James Hunt, to whose energy and unselfish devotedness the study of anthropology owes very much in this country, divided anthropology into physio-anthropology, or the doctrine of the functions of mankind, and morpho-anthropology or the doctrine of the forms of mankind. He argued that anthropology being part of biology, and biology being divided into morphology, or the doctrine of form and physiology, or the doctrine of function, a similar division was not unnatural in anthropology.

A fair statement of the width of this subject, and of the difficulties at present connected with its study, may be found in the following extract from the address delivered by Prof. W. H. Flower, the president of the Anthropological Section at the York meeting of the British Association:—

"The study of the true relationship of the different races of men is not only interesting from a scientific point of view, but of great importance to statesmanship in such a country as this, embracing subjects representing almost every known modification of the human species, whose varied and often conflicting interests have to be regulated and provided for. It is to want of appreciation of its importance that many of the inconsistencies and shortcomings of the government of our dependencies and colonies are due, especially the great inconsistency between a favorite English theory and a too common English practice—the former being that all men are morally and intellectually alike, the latter being that all are equally inferior to himself in all respects; both propositions egregiously fallacious. The study of race is at a low ebb indeed, when we hear the same contemptuous epithet of 'nigger' applied indiscriminately by the Englishmen abroad to the blacks of the West Coast of Africa, the Caffres of Natal, the Lascars of Bombay, the Hindus of Calcutta, the Aborigines of Australia, and even the Maoris of New Zealand. But how is he to know better? Where in this country is any instruction *to* be had? Where are the books to which he may turn for *trustworthy* information? The great work of Pritchard, a com-

pendium of all that was known at the time it was written, is now almost entirely out of date. In not a single University or public institution through the three kingdoms is there any kind of systematic teaching, either of physical or of any other branch of anthropology, except so far as comparative philology may be considered as bearing upon the subject. Though the study of man's origin and the earliest appearances upon the earth, and that of the structural modifications to which in course of time he has arrived, or the study of races, are ultimately related, and will ultimately throw light upon one another, I venture to think that the latter is the more pressing of the two, as it is certainly the more practically important; and hence the necessity for greater attention to physical anthropology. In seeking for a criterion upon which to base our study of races, in looking for essential proofs of consanguinity of descent from common ancestors in different groups of men, we must first look to their physical or anatomical characters, next to their moral and intellectual characters—for our purpose more difficult of apprehension and comparison—and, lastly, as affording hints, often valuable in aid of our researches, but rarely to be depended upon, unless corroborated from other sources, to language, religion, and social customs. The study of the physical or anatomical character of the races of man is unfortunately a subject beset with innumerable difficulties. It can only be approached with full advantage by one already acquainted with the ordinary facts of human anatomy, and with a certain amount of zoological training. The methods used by the zoologist in discriminating species and varieties of animals, and the practice acquired in detecting minute resemblances and differences that an ordinary observer might overlook, are just what are required in the physical Anthropologist. As the great problem which is at the root of all zoology is to discover a natural classification of animals, so the aim of Zoological Anthropology is to discover a natural classification of man. A natural classification is an expression of our knowledge of real relationship. When we can satisfactorily prove that any two of the known groups of mankind are descended from the same common stock, a point is gained. The more such points we have acquired, the more nearly shall we be able to picture to ourselves, not only the present, but the past distribution of the races of man upon the earth, and the mode and order in which they have been derived from one another. The difficulties in the way of applying zoological principles to the classification of man are vastly greater than in the case of most animals, the problem being one of much greater complexity. When groups of animals become so far differentiated from each other as to represent separate species, they remain isolated; they may break up into further subdivisions—in fact, it is only by further sub-division that new species can be formed; but it is of the very essence of species,

as now universally understood by naturalists, that they cannot re-combine, and so give rise to new forms. With the varieties of man it is otherwise. They have never so far separated as to answer to the physiological definition of species. All races are fertile one with another, though perhaps in different degrees. Hence new varieties have constantly been formed, not only by the segmentation, as it were, of a portion of one of the old stocks, but also by various combinations of those already established."

The best text-book in English for the student of Anthropology is the work by Dr. Paul Topinard, with a preface by Professor Paul Broca, translated into English by Dr. Barclay. This work I have most utilized in these lectures. Some valuable information will be found in Professor Huxley's "Man's place in Nature," and in the lectures by L. Geiger on the "History of the Development of the Human Race," which have recently been translated by Dr. Asher. Abel Hovelacque on the Science of language, and the treatise on Biology by Dr. Chas. Letourneau, the latter translated by William Maccall, will be found very useful to Anthropological students. Nott and Gliddon's "Types of Mankind" and "Indigenous Races of the Earth," have special value as containing references to nearly every important writer on Ethnological points up to the dates of their respective publications.

Ethnology treats of the origin and distribution of peoples. Ethnography, with the description of each people, of its manners, customs, religion, language, physical characteristics, and origin in history. Both are necessary to Anthropology. Dr. Bertillon divided Anthropology into three divisions: Analytical Anthropology, or Ethnology, which, with Ethnography, furnishes the materials for the other two divisions, viz., Synthetic or General Anthropology, and Philosophic Anthropology.

With reference to the origin of man, the one view—that of the monogenist as Pritchard or Quatrefages—was that all races, as we see them now, are the descendants of a single pair who, in a comparatively short period of time, spread over the world from one common centre of origin, and became modified by degrees in consequence of changes of climate and other external conditions. The other—that of the *polygenist, as* Louis Agassiz—is that a number of varieties

or species have independent centres in different parts of the world, and have perpetuated their original distinctive characters. Agassiz, Gliddon, Nott, having in view the very few thousand years then claimed by the Churches for man's existence on earth, contended that the ordinarily accepted time was insufficient for the development of known diversities of type, and they maintained that type was permanent under the conditions in which we found it, and must therefore have originally been multiple. But two features have now to be considered which were then excluded: one, the admittedly huge period of time man has inhabited the earth; the other, the light resulting from the untiring labors of Darwin in the path opened out by Lamarck and somewhat hesitatingly trodden by Wallace.

The doctrine of "transformism," says Topinard, is

"due to Lamarck, although De Maillet and Robinet had previously sketched out some of its traits. A species, Lamarck wrote in 1809, varies infinitely, and, considered as regards time does not exist. Species pass from one to the other by an infinity of transitions, both in the animal and vegetable kingdom. They originate either by transformation or divergence. By going back for ages, we thus come to a small number of primordial germs or monads, the offspring of spontaneous generation. Man is no exception to this; he is the result of the slow transformation of certain apes. The ladder, to which we before compared the organic kingdom, only exists, he says, as regards the principal masses. Species, on the contrary, are, as it were, the isolated extremities of the branches and boughs which form each of these masses. . . . . The ways and methods of Lamarck may be summed up in a single sentence—the adaptation of organs to conditions of existence. Change in external circumstances, he says, obliges the animal placed in the presence of animals of greater strength, or in new conditions of life, to contract different habits, which produce an increased activity in certain organs, a diminution, or a want of exercise, in others. By virtue of the physiological law inherent in every organism, that the organ, or a certain part of the organ, diminishes or increases in proportion to the work that it performs, these organs become modified when submitted to new conditions. The internal power of the organisation dependent on the general function of nutrition which is called forth is immense. The wants induced by external changes brought it into play."

But Lamarck's doctrine, fifty years before its time, was laughed down and sneered down. Now it is triumphant in Darwinism, which, says Topinard, may be defined as

"Natural selection by the struggle for existence applied to the transformism of Lamarck."

Professor Flower, in the address from which I have already quoted, contends that

"the view which appears best to accord with what is now known of the characters and distribution of the races of man, and with the general phænomena of nature, may be described as a modification of the monogenistic hypothesis. Without entering into the difficult question of the method of man's first appearance upon the world, we must assume for it a vast antiquity, at all events, as measured by any historical standard. Of this there is now ample proof. During the long time he existed in the savage state—a time compared to which the dawn of our historical period was as yesterday—he was influenced by the operation of those natural laws which have produced the variations seen in other regions of organic nature. The first men may very probably have been all alike; but when spread over the face of the earth and become subject to all kinds of diverse external conditions—climate, food, competition with members of their own species or with wild animals—racial differences began slowly to be developed through the potency of various kinds of selection, acting upon the slight variations which appeared in individuals in obedience to the tendency implanted in all living things. Geographical position must have been one of the main elements in determining the formation and the permanence of races. Groups of men isolated from their fellows for long periods, such as those living on small islands, to which their ancestors may have been accidentally drifted, would naturally, in course of time, develop a new type of features, of skull, of complexion or hair. A slight set in one direction in any of these characters would constantly tend to intensify itself, and so new races would be formed. In the same way different intellectual or moral qualities would be gradually developed and transmitted in different groups of men. The longer a race thus formed remained isolated, the more strongly impressed and the more permanent would its characteristics become, and less liable to be changed or lost, when the surrounding circumstances were altered, or under a moderate amount of intermixture from other races—the more 'true,' in fact, would it be. On the other hand, on large continental tracts, where no 'mountains interposed make enemies of nations,' or other natural barriers form obstacles to free intercourse between tribe and tribe, there would always be a tendency towards uniformity, from the amalgamation of races brought into close relation by war or by commerce. Smaller or feebler races have been destroyed or absorbed by others impelled by superabundant population or other causes to spread beyond their *original limits*; or sometimes the conquering race has itself dis-

appeared by absorption into the conquered. Thus, for untold ages, the history of man has presented a shifting kaleidoscopic scene; new races gradually becoming differentiated out of the old elements, and, after dwelling awhile upon the earth, either becoming suddenly annihilated or gradually merged into new combinations; a constant destruction and reconstruction; a constant tendency to separation and differentiation, and a tendency to combine again into a common uniformity—the two tendencies acting against and modifying each other. The history of these processes in former times, except in so far as they may be inferred from the present state of things, is a difficult study, owing to the scarcity of evidence. If we had any approach to a complete palæontological record, the history of man could be reconstructed; but nothing of the kind is forthcoming. Evidences of the anatomical characters of man, as he lived on the earth during the time when the great racial characteristics were being developed, during the long ante-historic period in which the Negro, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian were being gradually fashioned into their respective types, is entirely wanting, or, if any exists, it is at present safely buried in the earth, perhaps to be revealed at some unexpected time, and in some unforeseen manner. It will be observed, and perhaps observed with perplexity by some, that no definition has as yet been given of the oft-recurring word 'race.' The sketch just drawn of the past history of man must be sufficient to show that any theory implying that the different individuals composing the human species can be parcelled out into certain definite groups, each with its well-marked and permanent limits separating it from all others, has no scientific foundation; but that, in reality, these individuals are aggregated into a number of groups of very different value in a zoological sense, with characters more or less strongly marked and permanent, and often passing insensibly into one another. The great groups are split up into minor subdivisions, and filling up the gaps between them all are intermediate or intercalary forms derived either from the survival of individuals, retaining the generalised or ancestral characters of a race from which two branches have separated and taken opposite lines of modification, or from the reunion of members of such branches in recent times. If we could follow those authors who can classify mankind into such divisions as trunks, branches, races, and sub-races, each having its definite and equivalent meaning, our work would appear to be greatly simplified, although, perhaps, we should not be so near the truth we are seeking. But being not yet in a position to define what amount of modification is necessary to constitute distinction of race, I am compelled to use the word vaguely for any considerable group of men who resemble each other in certain common characters transmitted from generation to generation."

Anthropology more than any other science finds itself in conflict with religious and political institutions. In its researches into man's nature and the *mobile* of his acts, passions, and wants in the past, of his progress to civilisation, of the hindrances in his path, and of his future possibilities it cannot avoid clashing with the teachings which religious authorities have established in accord with what they possibly considered the best interests of human kind. In its enquiries into distribution of peoples it occasionally comes into contact with nationality delusions fostered by political leaders in view of the exigencies of statecraft. Anthropology is the great social science: in its completeness alone will any approach to real moral law be possible. To know what man should do it is first necessary to know what man is, and what it is he can do.

The science of acclimitisation is one of the departments of Anthropology, and an especially useful one when the white races under the pressure of population are seeking to colonise in every part of the world. Man apparently in the end inures himself to almost every climate, but only after great struggling. One race has a tendency to die out in a country where another thrives easily.

"It is undeniable," says Dr. Topinard, "that man by a certain method of high breeding and well-managed crossing is capable of being changed in successive generations in his physical as well as in his moral character. According to the modes adopted he will go on either degenerating or improving. Anthropology comes in here with the highest, and at the same time most practical aim, and its utility in this alone should secure for it the encouragement and patronage of our learned societies."

Linnæus placed man, the monkey, and the bat in one and the same order, named primates. This zoological classification which put man at the head of the series of animated beings shocked the orthodox, and Cuvier placed man in one order by himself; the monkey, in a second order; the bat in a third.

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# LECTURE II.

Is the animal man something apart from all other animals or is he one in the animal scale only distinguished by superiority of gradation? As Huxley asked eighteen years ago—

"Is he something apart? Does he originate in a totally different way from dog, bird, frog and fish, thus justifying those who assert him to have no place in nature and no real affinity with the lower world of animal life? Or does he originate in a similar germ, pass through the same slow and gradually progressive modifications—depend on the same contrivances for protection and nutrition, and finally enter the world by the help of the same mechanism? The reply is not doubtful for a moment, and has not been doubtful any time during the last thirty years. Without question the mode of origin and the early stages of the development of man are identical with those of the animals immediately below him in the scale:—without a doubt in these respects he is far nearer the apes than the apes are to the dog."

And again he declares—

"That the structural differences between man and the highest ape are of less value than those between the highest and lowest ape."

And here it must not be forgotten that of the man who inhabited Europe before the Aryan immigration overran it, we have at present no means of making comparison; the lowest man is known to us by traces only, and these sometimes of the faintest and most indistinct character.

At the outset man starts in life as do other vertebrates—as was pointed out many years ago by the author of "The Vestiges of Creation." In every vertebrate animal we begin with the egg, having the same essential structure, and as Huxley tells us, there is a period in which the young of all these animals resemble one another, not merely in outward form, but in all essentials of structure so closely, that the

differences between them are inconsiderable, while in their subsequent course they diverge more and more widely from one another. Man is no exception. "Identical," says Huxley, "in the physical process by which he originates—identical in the early stages of his formation—identical in the modes of his nutrition before and after birth, with the animals which lie immediately below him in the scale. Man, if his adult and perfect structure be compared with theirs, exhibits, as might be expected, a marvellous likeness of organisation."

In a later work on the anatomy of vertebrate animals, Professor Huxley, after a careful description of the brain, says: "In all the characteristics now mentioned the brain of man differs far less from that of the chimpanzee than that of the latter does from the pig's brain."

The physical characters of the human group are of two orders; some organic, to be studied on the skeleton and on the dead body: others physiological, to be studied on the living. As a frontispiece to "Man's Place in Nature," we have the skeletons of man, gorilla, chimpanzee, orang, and gibbon. Here, besides the shape of head, the greater length of arm, the slightly shorter leg, in relation to the spine, and greater size of hand and foot, are the striking features in the ape. For example, taking the spinal column of the gorilla at a nominal 100, its arm equals 115 as against European man's 80; its leg 96, as against the man's 117; its hand 36, the man's 26; its foot 41, the man's 35. While there are many other osteological points of interest pointed out in Dr. Topinard's book, limited space confines us here to the cranium. The cranium is formed of two portions in all mammalia, the cranium proper, or skull, the receptacle of the brain; and the face, the receptacle of the principal organs of sense and of the masticatory apparatus. Their development is in an inverse ratio, and so is their respective situation in reference to that development. In man the cranium is large, and is placed above the face; in quadrupeds it becomes less, and slopes more rapidly backwards; in monkeys the size and situation of the cranium are intermedial.

Comparison of craniums has been carried on to a large extent, so far as concerns man and the other leading animals. This comparison has been especially directed to the facial

angle and cranial capacity. There are four well-known facial angles:—1. Camper's angle; 2. Jacquart's angle; 3. Angle of Geoffroy St. Hilaire and Cuvier; 4. Cloquet's angle. Dr. R. S. Charnock, president of the late London Anthropological Society, urges that while Camper's method may be useful enough for its original purpose, it is of little or no use to the Anthropologist in the diagnosis of race characters, or in comparing the development of the face with that of the brain.

Cloquet's angle is the only one which will be used here to illustrate cranial differences between an European, a Negro, an infant chimpanzee, a full grown chimpanzee, a male gorilla, and a Newfoundland dog.

| | |
|---|---|
| Native of Lower Brittany ... ... ... | 72·0 |
| Namaquois Negro ... ... ... ... | 56·0 |
| Infant chimpanzee, first dentition ... ... | 51·5 |
| Chimpanzee ... ... ... ... | 38·6 |
| Male gorilla ... ... ... ... | 31·0 |
| Newfoundland dog ... ... ... ... | 24·5 |

The facial angle is an important characteristic of comparison between man and other animals. But it expresses rather the absolute development of the face, than the relation of the size of the face to the size of the cranium. In man the face is small and short, in the Newfoundland dog it is longer and flatter.

In cranial capacity, arrived at by filling the skull cavity with small shot or seed, there is a very gradual rise from the dog to the gorilla, and then a great leap from the gorilla to man. From a variety of experiments by Carl Vogt and by Dr. Topinard, it is estimated that the capacity in man of the cranial cavity, and consequently of the volume of the organ it encloses, is nearly three times larger than that of the gorilla.

Dr. Topinard thinks that taking the relative bulk of body into account, the degree of superiority should be rated still higher. Huxley calculated that the lowest man's skull has twice the capacity of that of the highest gorilla. But, he added, that in noting this very striking difference, it should be borne in mind—

"That the difference in the volume of the cranial cavity of different races of mankind is far greater, absolutely, than that

between the highest ape and the lowest, while relatively it is about the same. For the largest human skull measured by Morton, contained 114 cubic inches, that is to say, had very nearly double the capacity of the smallest; whilst its absolute preponderance of 52 cubic inches is far greater than that by which the lowest male human cranium surpasses the largest of the gorillas; secondly, the adult crania of gorillas which have yet been measured differ among themselves by nearly one-third, the maximum capacity being 34·5 cubic inches the minimum 24 cubic inches; and thirdly, after making all due allowances for difference of size, the cranial capacities of some of the lower apes fall nearly as much, relatively, below those of the higher apes as the latter fall below man. Thus, even in the important matter of cranial capacity, men differ more widely from one another than they do from the apes; whilst the lowest apes differ as much in proportion from the highest as the latter does from man."

There is a remarkable difference of natural posture. Man alone stands perfectly upright; the anthropoid apes have an oblique or side movement in progressing; the other mammalia have a horizontal attitude.

The upright attitude of man has an important bearing on our present inquiry. Says Topinard:—

"The head, in all the mammalian series, is articulated with the vertebral column by means of the condyles of the occipital which rotate from before backwards and from behind forwards in cavities formed in the bodies of the first cervical vertebra or atlas. Between and behind these condyles is the occipital foramen, through which the spinal cord enters the skull. In quadrupeds, the occipital foramen and its condyles are situated very far backward. It follows (1) That the head is no longer in equilibrium upon the vertebral column but falls forward. (2) That its position has to be raised in order that the animal may see straight before it, the axis of the orbits being altered accordingly. In man, on the contrary, the head is naturally in equilibrium upon the vertebral column. The occipital foramen occupies the middle of the base of the skull. His position with regard to seeing is horizontal; the axis of the orbits is directed forwards and the back of the retina is anatomically arranged in accordance with this."

Dr. Topinard points out that in the European the occipital foramen is situated at an equal distance between the anterior and posterior portion of the entire cranium. In the Negro it is a little more backward; in the anthropoid ape it is considerably so. It recedes in various quadrupeds.

until in the horse it no longer forms part of the base of the skull.

A facial feature which used to be considered as clearly distinguishing man from the monkey, was the presence in man of a chin, that is to say, of a small triangular surface more or less projecting above the inferior border of the jaw. It has, however, been found that the chin is wanting in a certain number of human specimens noted by Quatrefages. Topinard thus sums up an elaborate examination of the various cranial characteristics.

"The head of man is only distinguishable from the head of (other) animals by a single important character—the capacity of the brain-case."

There are three sorts of human crania known, viz., the long (dolicocephalic), the intermediate (mesaticephalic), and the short (brachycephalic). The skulls found in the cave of Engis, near Liège, and at Neanderthal, near Dusseldorf, are dolicocephalic. Sir Charles Lyell describes the Neanderthall skull as the most brutal of all known human skulls, and it is many respects much nearer to the chimpanzee than it is to the European.

Dr. Paul Broca, pointing out the ethnic differences between the Celts and the Belgæ of Julius Cæsar, says: "Whilst the true Celtic skull is brachycephalic, that of the Belgic or Kymric race is dolicocephalic."

We come now to the brain itself. The brain of the human fœtus is at first smooth. The fissures are next seen, then the sulci or furrows, then simple convolutions. As age advances the convolutions increase and become more complex. As the convolutions increase in number and tortuosity, and reduce in individual size, so you have brain power. Large and simple convolutions are found in cases of idiotcy and weak intellect. Small and deep convolutions, with numerous foldings, mark large intellectual capacity. The oustiti, a very low type of monkey, has the brain smooth, and only a trace of the Sylvian fissure. In the sagouins some convolutions are visible, and the number of convolutions increases rapidly in the highest cebians and pithecians. Says Topinard:—

"In anthropoids, suddenly and almost without any transition, they have a similar appearance to those of man. All the principal convolutions are there, the type is the same, the differences

is only in parts of a subordinate character, and in the degree of convolutions, which varies also in man, and is peculiar to him." "Between the smooth brain of the oustitis and the marvellously complicated brain of chimpanzees and ourangs, there is a gap," says Broca, "while there are faint shadows of difference between the latter and that of man. The enormous and complex mass of convolutions in man is composed of the same fundamental folds, united by the same connections and separated by the same sulci. These primary convolutions, these essential parts, common and only common to all human brains, are found without exception in the brains of the ourang and the chimpanzee."

It was for a long time thought that man was distinguished from the monkey by the presence of the mamillary tubercles, little round bodies situate at the base of the brain, and of which the use is not known; but these mamillary tubercles have been discovered in the chimpanzee, the ourang, and the gibbon.

Considerable attention has been paid to the weight of the brain, and the following summary is given in Gray's Anatomy:

"The average weight of the brain in the adult male is 49½ ozs., or a little more than 3 lbs. avoirdupois; that of the female 44 ozs.; the average difference between the two being from 5 to 6 ozs. The prevailing weight of the brain in the male, ranges between 46 ozs. and 53 ozs.; and in the female, between 41 ozs. and 47 ozs. In the male the maximum weight out of 278 cases was 65 ozs., and the minimum weight 34 ozs. The maximum weight of the adult female brain out of 191 cases was 56 ozs., and the minimum weight was 31 ozs. The weight of the brain increases rapidly up to the seventh year, more slowly to between sixteen and twenty, and still more slowly to between thirty and forty, when it reaches its maximum. Beyond this period as age advances and the mental faculties decline the brain slowly diminishes in weight, about an ounce for each subsequent decennial period."

But in taking the weight of the brain regard must be had to stature. The brain amongst some people is heavier in tall persons than in short ones. Allowing for such considerations and for abnormal cases the size of the brain bears a general relation to the intellectual capacity. Cuvier's brain, the heaviest yet weighed, was 64 ozs., the brain of an idiot seldom weighs more than 23 ozs.

Topinard points out that the reason that the brain of a woman is lighter than that of the man is that she has less

cerebral activity to exercise in her sphere of duty. The size of the woman's brain was, he says, formerly larger in the department of Lozère, because the woman and man naturally shared the burden of their daily labor, and, he adds, that the weight of the brain increases with the use we make of that organ, with the exercise of certain professions; in a word with the degree of intelligence.

Dr. A. Weisbach, who has devoted considerable pains to ascertain the brain weights—with reference to stature, age, sex and disease—of Austrian peoples—Magyars, Czechs, Italians and Germans, affirms that so far as these are concerned:—

"Age influences the brain in males and females in an inverse mode, in so far as the total weight is, between twenty and thirty, greatest, and then diminishes with advancing age, which decrease is divided in the separate cerebral sections, in such a manner that the cerebrum in males becomes with advancing age relatively larger and the occipital brain smaller. In females (German) the total brain weight is also, between twenty and thirty, greatest, after which time it steadily diminishes; but with this difference from males, that in the former the cerebrum becomes with advancing age, relatively smaller, the occipital brain (or the cerebellum and the pons alone) becomes relatively larger."

Dr. J. Barnard Davis affirms that "the skull and brain will always remain the purest bases of the classification of the human races," but adds that "unless there are some essential differences in the organisation of the brain which probably may always elude human scrutiny, there is no more certain means of classifying the different races of men than by taking the whole of man's organisation into account with color and form, and especially, primarily and chiefly his cranium, the form and dimensions of his skull."

Anthropoid apes are only found in hot countries. Man is found in every region of the globe, and inures himself to all climates and all conditions of life. This because he is omnivorous, and knows how to clothe himself, and to manufacture weapons and implements.

"The Esquimaux," says Topinard, "subsists on oil and the flesh of seals; the Todas of the Nilgherries on milk and pulse. Some tribes live on fish and shell-fish, and take sea-water as a beverage. Others mix clay with their food, while civilised nations obtain their supplies from all sources. Man cooks his food, but he does not despise the raw mollusc, or undressed fish,

or the raw flesh of the mammalia. Unlike any other animal he rears cattle and devotes himself to agriculture. He makes use of various animals as the dog, the cat, the camel, the reindeer to subserve his own purposes, and even his fellow creatures, be they black or white, are equally under his dominion. In this respect some animals imitate him—as the red ants in their treatment of the black ants."

Many tribes have been found unable to count above a certain number, some not more than two, and a Bosjesman was found who, though intelligent in other respects, was incapable of even adding one and one together. In his family man is monogamous or polygamous, the gorilla and chimpanzee are monogamous, and are said to be very faithful to their partners.

The Todas destroy in the cradle all female children beyond a certain number as being useless. Man, like many other animals, lives in society—

"The Soko," says Topinard, "an anthropoid ape, lives in a troop of ten individuals on the banks of the river Lualaba. Many species of monkeys, like man, select a chief, who directs their operations, and to whom they submit. The howlers or mycetes, belonging to the cebian family, hold meetings, in which one of them speaks for hours at a time in the midst of general silence, succeeded by great excitement, which ceases as soon as the speaker gives the word of command. Other monkeys combine to plan an excursion; divided into detachments, some plunder and tear up roots, others make a chain for the purpose of carrying them from hand to hand; others are placed as sentinels to keep watch."

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# LECTURE III.

MANY of man's faculties are found more highly developed in some one or other of what are called the lower animals. As Topinard puts it, it is not the exclusive possession of special faculties which marks man's supremacy, but the measure of these generally, and the holding them in comparative equilibrium. The character claimed to be peculiar to man is the faculty of language, or that of uttering articulate sounds. "Man," says Hovelacque, "is man in virtue of the faculty of articulate speech." But ought not every distinct sound which is used to convey a distinct idea be considered articulate? Here, too, it must be noted that, most distinctly, many animals are able to communicate with one another. They have intonations and modulations of voice which express fear, joy, suffering, and hunger. They make themselves understood by those of their own species, and though, as a general rule, they do not articulate, yet there are — at least, in the case of the cebian monkeys and in some birds—sounds or syllables more or less jumbled together to which it would be difficult to deny the word articulate. The operations which result in language are— 1. Thought; 2. The desire and volition to express the thought; 3. The faculty of expression first by sounds, which have been termed by Darwin inarticulate, but which may certainly be termed emotional cries, by gestures and muscular movements of the features; 4. The faculty of articulation; these two last including the necessary mechanism of the nerves and muscles—the *modus operandi* of the nerves being here, as in all other cases, yet very imperfectly understood.

The exercise of the faculty of articulate speech is, so far as can be judged, dependent on the "integrity of a very circumscribed portion of the cerebral hemispheres, and more especially of the left. This portion is situated on the upper border of the Sylvian fissure, opposite the island of Reil,

occupying the posterior half or probably not more than the third part of the third frontal convolution." It is by careful examination of those persons subject to aphasia that this localisation has been made clear. By aphasia is here meant, as explained by Broca and by Ferrier, not speechlessness from paralysis of the mechanism of articulation, nor speechlessness from general cerebral disturbance, such as emotional shock, etc., but the inability to express thoughts in articulate speech, because they have lost the ability to remember words; where such aphasia has existed there has almost always been found on examination "a very decided lesion of the posterior half of the right or left third frontal convolution." Nearly always the lesion has been found on the left side.

Taking what, for want of better words, we have described as the faculty of articulate speech as the special characteristic of mankind, we have next the fact that there are to-day linguistic groups in which there is not only no common grammatical point of identity, but in which inflection itself is differently treated. Those who hold this urge with Hovelacque, that "if the different linguistic groups known to us are irreducible they must have taken birth independently and in quite distinct regions. On this it follows that the precursors of man must have acquired the faculty of speech in different localities independently, and have thus given birth to several races of mankind originally distinct."

A large number of languages have perished, all existing languages have been subjected to considerable change. Languages are affected by the struggle for existence, they too illustrate the survival of the fittest. The farther we go back the more numerous do we find the independent linguistic families.

While, at first, difference of race is marked by difference of language, this does not in all cases continue. Not only do languages, like races, die out, but one language absorbs others, and is spoken by races to whom it was not original. So that to-day, and during the historic period, language and race have ceased to be convertible terms. Different races often speak one and the same language, and one and the same race may be found speaking different languages.

The anthropologist is aided by the study of pathology in

trying to fix man's place in the animal kingdom. Diseases to which man is liable are largely common to other animals of the mammalian series. In all you find instances of imperfect development, of diseases acute and transient as well as those chronic in character. All are liable to ailments peculiar to youth and to old age. There are as great differences in the diseases affecting the various types of mankind as there are between the diseases of man and those of other animals. Man may be inoculated with some diseases of other mammalia: they in turn in like manner have been inoculated with human diseases. In skin diseases there is of course a wide difference of degree in the affection of the skin of the European, the Negro, and the horse; and in the lower animals, the nervous system being less impressionable, fever is less marked.

As with man so with the rest of the mammalia you find dyspepsia, asthma, scrofula, and cancer. In all, the increase or diminution of the constituent elements of the blood results in scurvy, dropsy, or anæmia. They have similar diseases in teething. Monstrosities are produced during embryonic or fœtal life and are found in man and other mammalia. Disease of the brain is not limited to man, and here idiotcy has a special interest for the anthropologist, because in cases of idiotcy the faculties have never attained their full development, and idiotcy exhibits the brain of the human being less developed, more or less stunted in growth, and approaching more to that of other animals.

Sometimes in idiotcy the brain is of natural size, but the convolutions are very large and less flexuous or imperfect at some point. Sometimes it is wasted away either wholly or on one side in its frontal, parietal or occipital lobes. In one case the parietal and occipital lobes were so shrunken that the cerebellum was uncovered as in the case of the kangaroo.

There are some curious cases given of what is called microcephalus, that is, where there has been a general or partial arrest or perversion of development in one part of the brain prior to birth. Here, in the absence of complication, the brain continues to grow after birth, but grows irregularly and slowly. In two cases exhibited as Aztecs, a man of thirty-two and a woman of twenty-nine, the intellectual capacity was scarcely that of a child of three years of age.

and their language was limited to about fifteen words uttered in jerks.

Having ranged man as one family, first in the order of primates, the first in the class of mammalia, anthropology seeks to distinguish the various divisions of this human family, and tries to discover whether these divisions are to be arranged as genera or species or varieties. By variety is meant an assemblage of individuals presenting common characteristics and thereby distinguished from groups having other common characteristics. The variety is transient and accidental or permanent. In those who hold the transformist view there is no distinction between permanent variety and species. But those opposed hold that species are immutable—that is, the changes never go beyond certain limits.

Broca says—

"The varieties of mankind have received the name of races, which gives the idea of a more or less direct relationship between individuals of the same variety, but does not decide either affirmatively or negatively, the question of relationship between individuals of different varieties."

The attempts at classification of races have been so numerous that it is impossible in this space to even state fully the principal endeavors. The difficulties of classification have been increased by those who took man back to an universal deluge, and from three men, all the sons of one man, traced three distinct chief or only races by which the world was peopled.

In 1772, F. Bernier classified four races—white in Europe, yellow in Asia, black in Africa, and Laplanders in the north. Linnæus divided the genus man into three—civilised man, savage man, and monster man: the last includes the microcephales; the savage man, dumb, hairy, and walking on all fours; the civilised man he divided into four varieties:—European, with flaxen hair, blue eyes, light skin; Asiatic, with blackish hair, brown eyes and yellowish skin; African, with black woolly hair, black skin, flat nose and thick lips; and American, with tawny skin, long black hair and beardless chin. Blumenbach increased to five human varieties—Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American and Malay. Desmoulins raised the number of races to sixteen, besides *secondary* races. Three classifications need carefully

examining by all students of Anthropology—those of Isidore Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Professor Huxley and M. de Quatrefages, which are thus stated by M. Topinard :—

"The classifications of Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire are two in number. In the first place he distributes his eleven principal races according to the character of the hair, the flatness or projecting form of the nose, the color of the skin, the shape of the eyes, and the size of the lower extremities. In the second he admits the following human types: the first, or Caucasian, with the face oval and the jaws vertical (orthognathous); the second, or Mongolian, with the face broad in consequence of the prominence of the cheek-bones (eurygnathous); the third, or Ethiopian, with projecting jaws (prognathous); and the fourth, or Hottentot type, with wide cheek-bones and projecting jaws (eurygnathous and prognathous). This division has not been settled finally, but the bases of it are excellent.

"The classification of Mr. Huxley includes two primary divisions: The Ulotrichi, with woolly hair, and the Leiotrichi, with smooth hair. (1) Ulotrichi. Color varying from yellow-brown to the jettest black; the hair and eyes dark, and with only a few exceptions they are dolichocephales (elongated head). Example: the negroes of Africa and the Papous. (2) Leiotrichi. These are divisible into four groups: the australoid group, with dark skin, hair, and eyes; the hair long and straight, prognathous skull, with well-developed superciliary ridges. Example: the blacks found in Australia and in the Deccan, and perhaps the ancient Egyptians. The mongoloid group: yellowish-brown or reddish-brown skin, dark eyes, long, black and straight hair, mesaticephalic skull. Example: the Mongols, Chinese, Polynesians, Esquimaux and Americans. The xanthochroic group: pale skin, blue eyes, and abundant fair hair, skull mesaticephalic. Example: the Slavonians, Teutons, Scandinavians, and the fair Celtic-speaking people. The melanochroid group: pale-complexioned, dark eyes, hair long and black. Example: Iberians and black Celts and the Berbers.

"There are many objections to this classification. The form of the head, for example, is not always exact. If the Chinese and the Polynesians of the third group are mesaticephalic, the Esquimaux are the most dolichocephalic to be found on the globe, and the Mongols among the most brachycephalic.

"The best classification, apart from the monogenistic principle upon which it is based, is that of M. de Quatrefages. The eminent professor at the Museum of Paris regards the whole of the human races, 'pure or regarded as such,'* as a single stem

* "The monogenistic theory does not recognise the existence of really pure races. All being derived from a single individual, and being

with three trunks—the white, the yellow and the black—which are divided into branches, and these again into boughs, upon which the families divided into groups are grafted. The branches of the white trunk are the Aryan, the Semitic and the Allophyle (Esthonians, Caucasians, Aïnos); those of the yellow trunk are the Mongolian or meridional, and the Ougrian or boreal; and those of the black trunk, the Negrito, the Melanesian, the African and the Saab (Hottentots). As examples of the boughs we may mention the three of the Aryan branch—the Celt, the German and the Slav; the two of the Semitic branch—the Semitic and the Libyan; the two of the Mongolian branch—the Sinican (Chinese, etc.); and the Turanian (Turks). As examples of families: the Chaldean, the Arabic, and the Amhara of the Semitic bough; the first furnishing the Hebrew group, the second the Hymyarite and Arabian groups, and the third the Abyssinian group. M. de Quatrefages admits besides, 'the great races belonging more or less' to one of the three trunks. So among those of the yellow trunk, races 'à éléments juxtaposés' (the Japanese), and the races 'à éléments fondus' (the Malayo-Polynesians). In fact, the majority of classifications go on progressing. We see them commencing timidly, then multiplying their divisions, and then descending to details. Questions as to geographical boundaries are the first to attract attention, then physical characteristics, language, and subsequently records of every kind, both ethnic, historical and archæological."

Classification of races is determined by physical characteristics. 1. Anatomical, which are to be studied in the laboratory; and 2. External, to be observed on the living subject. There is a vast difference in the value of the estimate of these characteristics. The anatomical studies are conducted with care and method, the results are carefully checked and verified. Observations on the living subject are usually by a traveller in a foreign land. Sometimes occupied with other matter the traveller does not note with sufficient exactness. Sometimes his prejudices or preconceived notions influence his observations, and it is always more difficult to verify observations made in a far off land and amongst unfamiliar

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gradually produced by the influence of external conditions, the epithet is not absolutely applicable to them at any period of their existence. In the ancient polygenistic doctrine a definite number of races have existed from the first, with characteristics such as we now find them to possess, and consequently have remained pure. In the transformation theory also races are never stationary, or at least are not so as far as our finite vision can make out; their purity therefore is always relative, as in the monogenistic theory."

peoples. For the knowledge of the characteristics of ancient people of whom there are no longer living representatives we are indebted to bones.

Either to judge living races, or those who have died out, craniology is not only first in importance but gives higher results, because cranial differences have been more exactly studied than have the differences of other parts of the skeleton. The observations of Paul Broca are entitled to the first and most important place, and in this country the valuable labors of Dr. C. Carter Blake in relation to craniometry ought not to be passsed without notice. Out of the many cranial differences which it is impossible even to index here we will only take that of cranial capacity. The inferior races have much less capacity than have the superior races. The Australians are the lowest, having, according to Topinard, a mean cranial capacity of 1224 cubic centimetres. The capacity increases in the yellow races, and attains its maximum in the white. The Auvergnians have 1523 cubic centimetres of cranial capacity, the Parisian 1437. The smallest known is a native of the Andaman Islands, with only 1093 cubic centimetres.

In measuring the face, the part lying below the eyebrows is longest in the Esquimaux and Chinese and shortest in the Lapps. The Chinese and Caledonians have the broadest face, the Hottentots the narrowest. Broca urges that the nasal index is one of the best characteristics for determining varieties of the human race. The nasal index is the ratio of the maximum breadth of the anterior nasal orifice to the maximum length of the nose taken from the nasal spine to the naso-frontal suture. That is, in the Hottentot you get the short thick nose, in the European the long thin nose. This was shown in M. Broca's tables, where on a line of 100 a Bosjesman figured, breadth 72, length 22; a Russian, breadth 35, length 71.

The lower jaw furnishes special characteristics, noticeably, in the projection or absence of the chin. In European races the chin is in front of the perpendicular; there is, in the lower races a receding, so that, although the Negro chin is still in front, it is but very slightly so. In the Anthropoid ape the recession is still more marked, the chin is no longer in front; and M. Topinard tells us that examples have been found in some prehistoric skulls which exhibit

all the intermediate gradations between man and the anthropoid ape.

Although the remainder of the skeleton has not yet been studied with the same care as the skull, there are many important race characters already distinctly marked. Amongst these are: the perforation of the humerus met with as a common characteristic in bones of the polished stone period and diminishing in frequency since the commencement of the present era; the sabre-like form of the tibia traced back to the ancient stone, and polished stone periods; the channelled fibula and the *femur à colonne*. The last three are, so far as yet known, characteristics of one race in Western Europe; the perforation of the humerus marking another race. The proportional length of the various parts of the skeleton and the relation of these to the anthropoid ape show in various races, superiority in some points and inferiority in others in the same individuals.

Anthropology has until lately not received great aid from the dissecting-room. The bulk of subjects have been white, and the comparatively few negroes and mongolians dissected were generally not examined with sufficient care nor with the view of detecting and recording differences. Now this is changing, and greater exactitude is being observed. Sœmmering and Jacquart have shown that the nerves of the negro, particularly those at the base of the brain, are larger than those of the European. The cerebral substance in the Negro is not so white as in the European. The convolutions of the brain are large and less complex in the inferior races.

The length of the arm serves to help to mark race. In the Negro the arm is longer than in the European, in one case, at least, being scarcely distinguishable in proportional length from the gorilla.

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# LECTURE IV.

THE color of the skin, hair and eyes is the result of the production and distribution of coloring matter. The skin of the Scandinavian is white, almost without color, or rather appearing rosy and florid, owing to the transparency of the epidermis, allowing the red coloring matter of the blood to be seen. The skin of the negro of Guinea, and especially of Yoloff, the darkest of all, is, on the contrary, jet black, in consequence of the presence in the minute cellules on the deep surface of the epidermis, of black granules, known by the name of pigment. This pigment is found in all mankind, whether black, yellow or white, the various tones of color being consequent on the quantity. There is a red coloring matter in the blood, a black coloring matter of the skin, and a yellow coloring matter secreted in the liver—whence the color of the tissues in jaundice. "There are thus," says Topinard, "three fundamental elements of color in the human organism—namely, the red, the yellow and the black, which mixed in variable quantities with the white of the tissues, give rise to those numerous shades seen in the human family."

From the mixture of these fundamental colors and from the influence of external conditions issue all the known shades. Amongst the whites there is a great variety, the rosy Scandinavian differing considerably from the florid English and Dane. The yellow tint of Eastern Asiatics is still more varied, being sometimes almost indistinguishable from white, sometimes olive green, and passing through every stage from pale yellow to brown or gingerbread color. Amongst American Indians there are all shades of color, from the light tint of the Antisians of the Central Andes to the dark olive of the Peruvians and the negro black of the ancient Californians. In Polynesia, copper color is common with very light yellow and brown tints. In Africa, red and

yellow are very common. The Foulbas are of a rhubarb yellow, those of pure blood approaching red. In many parts of Africa the negroes insensibly blend with the yellow and red. The Hottentots, and especially the Bosjesmans, are of a yellow gray.

The color of the skin is associated, if the race be pure, with a certain color of eye and hair. "Thus," says Topinard, "those with white skins of a rosy hue, which cannot bear the sun, have usually light eyes and hair. Those with white skins, which readily tan with the sun, and those with yellow, red or black skins, have, on the contrary, dark hair." The color of the eye, or rather of the two circles of the iris, is easily mistaken, the external circle being darker than the internal and the intermediate zone being lighter than either. Dark blue and light blue eyes usually belong to fair people, and, associated with fine silky and yellowish or flaxen hair, are more characteristic of a race group than any other shade. When associated with black hair, they are a sign of mixed breed. Grey, greenish and neutral tinted eyes are characteristic of the Celtic race.

Hair consists of root, including bulb, and stem. In the centre of the stem is a sort of canal, transparent in Europeans with light hair; more or less opaque, but still visible, in Europeans with black hair, Mongols and Americans; and invisible in Negroes, Papuans and Malays. The size of the stem is the cause of the harshness and rigidity or fineness and flexibility of the hair. The thinnest and the flattest hair is that of the Bosjesmans, Papuans and Negroes; the most cylindrical is that of the Polynesians, Malays, Siamese, Japanese and Americans; Europeans are between the two. Topinard says that the hair

"Presents definite anatomical characters which alone might be taken as a basis of classification for the races of mankind. Three groups might thus be portrayed: (1) Flat or woolly hair, characteristic of Negroes; (2) Large and coarse cylindrical hair, belonging to Mongols, Chinese, Malays and Americans; (3) Hair intermediate in shape and size peculiar to European races. The first group might be divided into two, according as the hairs are inserted in tufts as in Papuans and Bosjesmans, or in a continuous layer, as in other Negroes. The third might be classified according, as the hair is brown as in our Southern races, or light as in the Northern. Lastly, by comparing the character of the straight hair with the pure black color of the skin in

certain races, we might have a further group comprising the Australians, Hymiarites, etc. Thus we should have six fundamental divisions bearing upon one and the same organ."

Examining the features in profile there is the oblique or prognathous countenance in which the two jaws project and the lips are large and upturned. This is the negro type. The other, sensibly vertical or orthognathous, in which the lips are fine, straight and small. This is the European type of face, which, looked at in front, is developed and projecting in front of the median line, the sides receding and becoming narrower. In the Mongolian type, the middle portion of the countenance is flat and the sides become wide and project out. A straight contracted forehead is a feature of inferiority; a broad ample forehead a mark of superiority. Microcephales and idiots have the receding forehead. In the Esquimaux and the Chinese what is called the "almond eye" is a strong race character. "The internal part of the eye is lowered whilst the external has an upward direction. The internal angle is covered by a fold of loose integument. This fold is slightly stretched over the angles of the eyelids and covers the caruncula lachrymalis which is visible in the European, and forms as it were a third eyelid, in the form of a crescent." The nose is wide and flat in Mongols and negroes; in Bosjesmans and the lowest type of negroes the sides of the nostrils are elevated somewhat upwards and outwards, exposing the internal surface and approximating in this to the Simian types. Delicacy of shape of the lips and smallness of the mouth are European features. In Kabyles the ears project out; in Europeans they are oval and well defined; in negroes they are round or approaching to square. There is a noticeable cutaneous odor in various races, but its diversity has hardly yet been noted with sufficient exactness. Having given a variety of points as to the external differences of the Bosjesman and the European, Topinard declares that the line of separation as regards these in a morphological point of view is as much "as between each of the anthropoid apes, or between the dog and the wolf, the goat and the sheep."

There are, Topinard thinks, reasons for believing that the mean normal longevity is not the same in all races. Decrepitude shews sooner in some races. The Australians and Bosjesmans are old men at a period when the European is in

full enjoyment of his faculties, both physical and intellectual. In the negro races woman fades away much more quickly than in the white, and the bodily development of the negro is generally in advance of that of the white man.

Atavism is the tendency to revert to features common to previous ancestors; thus a human being may have no likeness to his father or mother, but may be the reproduction of his great grandfather or great grandmother. There are numerous cases of reversion to ancestral forms of extreme remoteness. There is the double and apparently hostile tendency in each individual, or generation of individuals, to divergence or variability of character, and to concentration or perpetuation of these characters. Crossing and inheritance require full study by anthropologists. Crossing is the union of two individuals belonging to differing varieties or races. Inheritance the ability of living beings to repeat or reproduce themselves with similar forms and attributes. Inheritance results in the permanence of types such as we find represented on Egyptian monuments of 5,000 to 6,000 years' antiquity identical with the Fellah who to-day gains his livelihood on the banks of the Nile. It is yet to be settled how far the crossing between races anthropologically remote affects the progeny as to superiority and fecundity, and though it is strongly urged that as races increase in superiority fecundity diminishes, a careful observation and examination is needed of all facts bearing on the question.

Varieties of race are produced prior to birth by influences yet little understood; and in the course of life by surroundings, what M. de Quatrefages calls *milieux*, that is "the *ensemble* of conditions or influences of every kind which may act upon organised beings;" or with Topinard, "all the external causes capable of producing, either directly or indirectly, a change in living organs." Nutrition is here of prime importance. If, in consequence of insufficient nutrition, the ossification of the skeleton is not regular, the individual will be short in stature. If this be repeated through many generations it will become habit, and then a regularly transmissible character.

The more the brain works the more it continues to increase beyond its ordinary growth. So says Topinard: "The small size at the present day of the skull of women

relatively to that of men, as compared with that which it was at the prehistoric period represented by the two beautiful series from the cavern of L'Homme Mort and the Baye caves in the department of La Marne, would arise from an opposite cause."

Climate is a most important element as affecting race. One race evinces a capability of living in some latitudes rather than in others. The English, who become habituated to the climate of the United States, St. Helena, and the Cape of Good Hope, fail to become so habituated in the Antilles and in India. The Germanic races thrive in the United States, but die out in the Tropics. The Dutch live under the most favorable conditions in the Cape, but perish under the scorching climate of the Malay peninsula. In Madagascar and in Senegal no European race can hold out. The brown races show great power of acclimatisation. In cold regions Europeans do not readily become acclimatised, and the fair population of Iceland is now decreasing, and this is supposed to be in consequence of the island becoming gradually colder. M. Bertillon divides the results on the individual and his progeny of sudden transplantation to a new climate into "(1) sudden diseases; (2) chronic consecutive anæmias which place the individual in an unfavorable condition to resist accidental diseases, or make him quickly look old; (3) diseases of early infancy in offspring born in the country; (4) physical and intellectual degeneration and the infertility of the second and third generations."

Acclimatisation is more successful if gradual, that is by small stages of climatic difference, as has been the case with the great migrations. Permanent acclimatisation is rendered more easy by slight crossing with native races, or with settled races with greater power of acclimatisation. Thus a small shade of negro blood lessens the tendency of the European to contract yellow fever.

Besides anatomical and physiological race characteristics, of which some instances have been given, the anthropologist enquires into man's customs, his language, his migrations, the relics of his earliest industry—in a word, into all those things which result from the association of men with each other.

There are two characteristics common to the whole human

race, one of which is also common to the ape: imitation and improvement. The ape repeats what it sees done. Man repeats and profits by what he sees, and is more or less capable of improving upon what he so sees. But the ability of man to appropriate and utilise all that may be rendered subservient to his wants and desires, and to transform himself intellectually, is not equal in all races. Certain intellectual differences are found persisting amongst certain peoples, probably each difference corresponding to certain cerebral differences. Here we are brought specially face to face with the differences of language.

Of the about 800 known languages, living and dead, there are three types: (1), the monosyllabic, as the Chinese and its dialects; (2), polysyllabic or agglutinative, as the idioms of the American, Basque, Berber, Mongolian, etc.; (3), the inflexional, as the Semitic and Aryan languages, the last including most of the European. Some of these languages "are so perfectly distinct in their mechanism and in their constituent elements—as the Indo-European or Aryan, and the Syro-Arabic or Semitic, in spite of all the attempts of specialists to find in them points of contact—that they give one the idea that at the time of their formation the races which spoke them lived absolutely separated, without any communication with any other races." If it be assumed that the type of language is the inevitable product of the cerebral organisation, it will be seen that very early types of language may be of great aid in helping to discriminate between races, although not conclusive alone in marking race.

If all the existing varieties of human kind were pure, then classification would be easy; it would be enough to sum up their respective differences and resemblances, but this is not possible. As Topinard puts it:

"Races have been divided, dispersed, intermixed, crossing in various proportions and in all directions for thousands of ages. The greater part of them have relinquished their language for that of their conquerors, or for a third, or even for a fourth; the principal masses have disappeared, and we find ourselves no longer in the presence of races, but of peoples, the origins of which we have to trace, or to make a direct classification of. In other words, there are two orders of classification which we must not confound, namely, the classification of the masses of human

beings such as the flux and reflux of time have left us, and the classification of races such as we are able to arrive at after a minute process of analysis. The former is ethnological, the latter anthropological."

It is in the past that the anthropologist tries to trace the histories of the various races in order that he may comprehend how the present races have grown. Real history goes back only a few thousand years, when it is imperfectly and sometimes incoherently supplemented by tradition and legend. When these cease to be useful aids, the anthropologist especially devotes himself to archæology, and more particularly to prehistoric archæology for further guidance. Under archæology is included the metal age, while the prehistoric division comprises the ancient and polished stone epochs. The lake dwellings, the dolmens, the caves, the barrows, the kitchen middens in Europe, Africa and America, each and all help us with clue to trace man in the far-off yesterday of human kind.

The metal age goes back until history fails, and tradition and legend so die out, that it is not possible accurately to do more than fix a minimum of time, and to leave the "how much more ancient yet?" an unsolved problem. The neolithic or polished stone period stretches out still more immeasurably into the past, and the rough stone or palæolithic period is so much more vast in duration that the previous twain seem brief indeed when measured beside it. Great glacial periods, age of cave bear, of mammoth and of reindeer—all these serve as time-marks to roughly note the centuries of chiliads, as we grope in the mighty yesterday in our search for traces of prehistoric man.

Without attempting here the announcement of any personal theory on the origin of man, I conclude with Topinard's *résumé* of the possible genealogy of man according to Hæckel.

"At the commencement of what geologists call the *Laurentian* period of the earth, and of the fortuitous union of certain elements of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, under conditions which probably took place only at that epoch, the first albuminoid clots were formed. From them, and by spontaneous generation, the first cellules or *cleavage-masses* took their origin. These cellules were then subdivided and multiplied, and arranged themselves in the form of organs, and after a series of transformations, fixed by M. Hæckel at *nine* in number, gave origin to

certain vertebrata of the genus *Amphioxus lanceolatus*. The division into sexes was marked out, the spinal marrow and *chorda dorsalis* became visible. At the *tenth* stage, the brain and the skull made their appearance, as in the lamprey; at the *eleventh*, the limbs and jaws were developed, as in the dogfish: the earth was then only at the Silurian period. At the *sixteenth*, the adaptation to terrestrial life ceased. At the *seventeenth*, which corresponds to the Jurassic phase of the history of the globe, the genealogy of Man is raised to the kangaroo among the Marsupials. At the *eighteenth*, he becomes a Lemurian: the Tertiary epoch commences. At the *nineteenth*, he becomes Catarrhinian, that is to say, an ape with a tail, a Pithecian. At the *twentieth*, he becomes an Anthropoid, continuing so throughout the whole of the Miocene period. At the *twenty-first*, he is a man-ape, he does not yet possess language, nor, in consequence, the corresponding brain. Lastly, at the *twenty-second*, Man comes forth, as we now see him, at least in his inferior forms. Here enumeration stops. M. Hæckel forgets the *twenty-third* stage, that in which the Lamarcks and Newtons made their appearance. Although having attained so lofty an eminence, Man must have had a very low origin, in no way differing from that of the first and most simple organic corpuscles. What he is now in the womb, he would have been permanently on making his appearance in the animal series."

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# HINTS TO EMIGRANTS

TO THE

# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

By CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

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HAVING lately received very many applications for information as to the United States, and the advantages offered to emigrants in the great Republic, I have gone carefully through the notes made by me on the spot during my journeys in America in 1873, 1874, and 1875, and have selected all details that seem to be in any way useful to those intending to emigrate. Of course the figures given here as wages or cost of living, will, in many cases, have changed for the worse during the subsequent period. I have in all cases, where later information has enabled me to do so, corrected my original notes so as to make the information as reliable as possible. I have specially availed myself of the latest reports of the Massachusetts Labour Bureau. Any who may desire further information should address themselves, so far as New England is concerned, to Carroll D. Wright, Chief of Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Boston, Massachusetts. The report for 1878 states, "There has since 1875 been in all industries a reduction in wages varying from one per cent. in the carpet industry to fifteen and two-thirds per cent. in the manufacture of woollen goods; and for all the industries reported upon, an average of nine and one-third per cent."

I give each set of items under the heading of the city

where I collected the information, and my readers may rely that in every case I took the greatest precautions to be exact. During the past twelve months the labour struggle in America has been very severe, and the chief of the Boston Labour Bureau calculated that about the middle of 1878 there were no less than 570,000 persons above the age of 18 unable to obtain employment. Extreme labour advocates put these figures much higher.

I do not want to oppose emigration, but there are several things needful to be understood. First, that emigration is only a temporary alleviation of the sad condition of our agricultural labourers in England, and not a permanent remedy for their miseries—the permanent remedy can never be obtained without an entire and radical change in the English land laws, and the practice of prudential restraint amongst the masses. Second, it will only be the very few, comparatively, who can escape to foreign shores from the evils at home. Of those who do emigrate, such as arrive in either Canada or the United States without money in their pockets—to enable them to exist for a few months, and to purchase necessary land, teams, implements, or stock or seeds—will find themselves often in a much more miserable condition than can be easily pictured. Emigration to Canada is open to the further objection that the Canadians themselves, of late years, quit Canada for the United States, and this in large and increasing numbers, showing that there is some advantage in the United States not shared by the Dominion. The mere question of winter climate is a great one to those who take a map and look at the northern latitudes of that portion of the Dominion open to settlers. Those who think of leaving for the Canadian Dominion must be prepared to encounter much greater hardships than any I yet see sketched out.

Undoubtedly, emigration may be a good thing for those who after paying all travelling expenses can disembark in either Canada, New Zealand, Australia, or America with one hundred pounds in their pockets, to enable them to face the struggle in a new world; but out of the hundreds who may land without money, the grave will claim a huge share of those who must inevitably fail—even when corn is plentiful—to win the means of life. During the three journeys I made in America there was hardly a single day on which I was not asked to aid some English emigrant, *who had landed* at either Montreal, New York, or Boston,

and found himself many hundreds of miles away from the chance of success. To tell paupers to emigrate, is to send the majority of them to a miserable and ineffectual struggle. A few of great energy may win life, but the bulk will lose heart and hope. Nearly all the cases of pauper lunacy known in the United States were of recent emigrants who had broken down in despair, strangers in a strange land, with surroundings to which they were unable to assimilate themselves.

## NEW YORK.

NEW YORK CITY occupies the whole of the granite rock forming the Island of Manhattan, in the mouth of the Hudson river. It had in 1873, without reckoning the inhabitants either of Brooklyn or of New Jersey, a population of nearly 1,000,000 human beings, and is unceasingly receiving fresh additions from various corners of the world. Brooklyn and New Jersey would add about 550,000, and are only separated by the east and north rivers. New York may be fairly called the metropolis of the New World. The chief business street in New York is the Broadway, which abuts on the Battery point, looking out towards Staten Island, and goes pretty centrally through the city until it nearly reaches Central Park. The city is divided by a series of fine avenues, running almost, if not quite, parallel through the entire extent of the island, and numbered from First Avenue to Twelfth Avenue. All these avenues are broad, and some of them are really magnificent streets, most of the houses being five stories in height. These avenues are crossed by streets, which on one side, and for about three-fourths of the city, are numbered in regular order from 1 to 111. The working population reside from Seventh Avenue west, that is, in Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Avenues, and intersecting streets, and from Third Avenue east, except a small portion of Second Avenue. The aristocratic portion of the city is the Fifth Avenue and abutting streets. Working men do not rent entire houses, they live chiefly in what are called single or double tenement houses, occupying the half or the fourth of a floor or flat, and their rent varies from ten dollars to thirty dollars a month. A single tenement house of five stories holds therefore ten families, a double tenement

house twenty families. Each tenement is well supplied with water, and consists of two, three, or four rooms. To pay such rents of course the wages run higher than in Europe. Carpenters in 1873 got from three dollars to three and a half dollars per day. The employment is not however regular, most men having to lose two or three months every year. The eight-hours-a-day system is maintained by the Union of Amalgamated Carpenters, but there are very many working in the small shops and in the branches in which German labour prevails who do not belong to the Union, and are kept at their toil for nine or ten hours. Carpenters who emigrate from Britain are cautioned that the trade is overstocked in New York City, and that they ought not to come without means to take them to distant parts of the continent. Indeed, for Englishmen, the carpenter's trade is dull everywhere through the United States, and men with families should hesitate to emigrate; single men have a better chance. The large majority of the carpenters in the city are Irish, but recently the Germans have encroached on the trade with great success, as the German artisans all work more cheaply and live more economically than either English or Irish workmen.

Cabinet makers earn from two and a half to three and a half dollars per day. They work ten hours each week-day, and sometimes also on the Sunday, and are nearly all Germans. Plasterers get from four to four and a half dollars a day. They work very hard, but keep strictly to the eight hours; they have a strong trade society, and are chiefly English and Irish. The severe winter keeps them out of employ about four months in every year. The bricklayers and stonemasons are nearly in the same position as the plasterers, except that the latter are sometimes employed during seasons when the bricklayers and plasterers are prevented by the frosts from working. Comparatively few stonemasons are employed in the city proper, the bulk of the labour being performed at the quarries. Pianoforte makers work entirely piece-work, and earn from fifteen to twenty-five dollars per week, and are mostly Germans.

Men who are especially advised not to come here are engineers, fitters, boiler-makers, riveters, blacksmiths, and general machinists. The market is overstocked, the wage is from two and a half to three and a half dollars, but the latter very exceptional. The working day is ten hours, and e numbers of such artisans are out of employ. All nation-

alities are to be found in these trades. The painters' trade is very bad in winter. The men earn on an average three dollars per day, although three and a half dollars is the trade society minimum. Labourers, such as hod-carriers and rockmen—the latter doing the drilling and blasting necessary in consequence of the city being built on the primary granite—get two and a half dollars per day, and general labourers obtain two dollars per day; these are, in the great majority, Irishmen.

During the five years preceding 1873 the wages of skilled labour had diminished twelve and a half per cent., without any corresponding reduction in any of the necessaries of life, except clothing. [Since 1873 there has been a still further reduction of wage in New York City.] Beef is from eighteen to twenty-five cents the pound, but good parts range at the higher prices. Mutton eighteen to twenty cents per pound, flour one dollar forty cents per bag of twenty-flour lbs., butter forty-five cents per pound, potatoes one dollar to one a half dollars per bushel. Fruit is very cheap and plentiful during the season. The water is bad for drinking, especially during the summer, and the chief ordinary beverage of the artisan is the *lager bier*. It is not so intoxicating as London porter, and is a little more bitter; the colour is about that of mild ale. The Irish and English also patronise whiskey, which is strong and bad. All these statistics and facts apply to New York City solely, and have been derived from the workmen themselves.

In 1875 the labour market was very dull in New York City. The daily wages paid to machinists were then as follows:—Morgan Iron Works, 1 dollar 80 cents to 2 dollars 25 cents; Murphy and Quintard Iron Works, 2 dollars 25 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents; R. Hoe and Co.'s Printing Press Works, 2 dollars 50 cents to 3 dollars; Delamater Iron Works, 2 dollars 40 cents to 2 dollars 60 cents; Fletcher and Harrison's and Brown's, 2 dollars 50 cents; Albany Street Iron Works and Fox's, 2 dollars 40 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents; Cameron, 2 dollars to 2 dollars 40 cents; Cobanks and Theall, 2 dollars 25 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents; J. B. Cornell, 1 dollar 50 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents; Hudson River Rail Road, 2 dollars to 2 dollars 25 cents. In Brooklyn and Jersey City wages averaged about the same as in New York City. The wages of machinists were less by 15 per cent. to 30 per cent. since 1873. Rents and provisions remained at about the same rate; but, as a consequence of

the hard times, working men in this city were worse lodged than ever. A working man writes me :—

"In the regular tenement-house it is a common thing to see four families on each floor, and the tenement-house is five, six or seven stories high; the bed-rooms are generally dark, and, as a rule, the sleeping-room is a small aperture opening in the hall-way. A man has to pay from fourteen to twenty dollars a month for one large room and two small ones. The price of provisions in the wholesale market, in many cases, is one-half the price of the same when sold by retail, showing the necessity for co-operation, a system which it is almost next to an impossibility to teach the people in this country."

The 1874 report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers shows out of 1300 members, 139 out of work, but 500 have in addition to this left the country, and returned to Europe because of bad times. In the December report of the same society, from all parts of the United States, returns were nearly all either "dull," "very bad," "moderate," or "working short time;" not one is good. Clearly New York City was even in 1875 a place no person should come to who desired employment in a machine shop, but things are even worse in 1879 than they were in 1875.

ELMIRA claims to be the largest, and is one of the prettiest, towns in Southern New York; it had in 1875 a population of about 20,000, and has large manufactories of iron, and of boots and shoes. I visited the mills and furnaces of the Elmira Iron and Steel Rolling Mill Company, of which Dr. Eldridge is President, and Colonel H. W. Rathbone, Secretary and Treasurer, and in which 1,500,000 dollars are invested. Messrs. Eldridge and Rathbone, who I fancy are almost entirely the company, were most courteous and communicative to me, and on my inquiries as to wages, Colonel Rathbone drove me straight to the works, and allowed me to inspect for myself the wages lists. The Elmira Iron and Steel Works have been established about nineteen years, and being somewhat out of the district for such an industry, the wage paid has always been a quarter of a dollar per day higher than at Scranton or Danville. The works, when all going, employ nearly 500 hands, of whom the puddlers are nearly all Welsh, and the bulk of the remainder have been Irish, English, and German, the last two elements being hitherto the smallest. Lately, a great change has taken place; the Germans are rapidly increasing in numbers, and are superseding the Irish in the departments of unskilled [illegible]. There are no French Canadians in the works

The following are the daily wages:—Puddlers, 3 dols. 16 cents; puddle rollers, 3 dols. 25 cents; roughers, 2 dols. 60 cents; catchers, 2 dols. 30 cents; buggy boys, 1 dol. 50 cents. In the Rail Mills: Roller, 5 dols. 40 cents; average of men at rollers, 2 dols. 80 cents; common labour (chiefly German-speaking, including Prussian Poles), 1 dol. 80 cents; heater, 1 dol. 90 cents; unskilled labour generally, 1 dol. 50 cents, but now only 1 dol. 30 cents per day, as against 90 cents being paid at Susquehanna. At the furnaces, unskilled labour the same; drivers, 1 dol. 75 cents; keepers, 2 dols. 75 cents; first helpers, 2 dols. 25 cents; cindermen and feeders, 1 dol. 80 cents; engineer, 2 dols. 25 cents; blacksmith, 2 dols, 45 cents; carpenters, 2 dols. There is not only no lack of labour at present, but the supply has always been full, and is so abundant that unskilled labour could in 1874 be easily got here at 1 dol. per day, and the Erie Company were only paying 95 cents. at Susquehanna. Emigrants certainly, therefore, should not come to Elmira for employment, either in the ironworks or as mere labourers. The coals used in these works come from two districts; the soft coal from Blossburgh, and the anthracite coal from the Lehigh district. The soft coal costs 2 dols. 85 cents per ton delivered here. The iron ores now used are of five kinds: fossil red ore from Ontario Wayne County, a magnetic ore from Stirling, a good hematite ore from the Adirondack region, and an inferior fossil red ore from Columbia. In future only two ores will be used here, from Canada and Wayne County. On inquiring as to rent of workmen's houses, I was pleased to learn that a large number of the men employed by Messrs. Eldridge and Rathbone dwelt in their own houses. When first employed, instead of building houses for the men, these gentlemen advanced money to their *employés* to purchase land, and guaranteed the men in their purchases of lumber; the men built their own houses, and gradually repaid the advances from their wages. I drove round to look at these men's houses, and wished that our foundry-men had had the same dwelling facilities afforded them. I am sorry to say that I know of no other ironworks in the United States where this has been done.

BUFFALO (on the west of New York State), which is about 450 miles west of New York City, is one of the rapidly-created new American cities, chiefly brick-built, and with *fine, wide, straight* streets. It is erected right on the e-

of Lake Erie, and is an outpost city of the United States, fronting the Canadian Dominion, which runs here much more southerly than in the New England direction. Buffalo has a population of about 150,000 persons, of whom an extremely large number are Germans, and covers the comparatively enormous space of ten miles. It is very healthy, and its leading men claim that its death-rate is lower than that of any other city on the American continent. The working men in Buffalo mostly dwell in small separate houses, which, in the case of the Germans, are nearly always their own property. Plots 30 feet frontage by 110 feet deep cost 300 dollars, and a fair four-roomed cottage, with necessary buildings, costs 500 dollars. These 800 dollars can be paid by instalments extending over five or six years, secured by mortgage bearing seven per cent. interest. If such a cottage be rented, the rental is from 125 to 150 dollars per annum. Unskilled labour is plentiful in Buffalo; the wage is one dollar seventy-five cents per day. An employer of labour in the building trades told me that there is room for industrious skilled labourers, but in my opinion the demand can be more than supplied from New York and the New England States. Carpenters get from two to three and a half dollars per day; masons get a little more, but their work is more interrupted in the winter season. German artisans are more prosperous in Buffalo than either English or Irish of the same trades; this chiefly arises from their greater economy in living. The Germans get more nutritive food at a lesser cost than their British competitors.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON, the chief city of Massachusetts, has a population of 350,000. The State House, with its newly-gilded dome stands out conspicuously amongst the public buildings. Some sections of Boston are quite peculiar in the groupings of the classes of the population. At the West end, for instance, is to be found, in a comparatively small area, representatives of our population from the highest to the lowest grades. Beacon Hill looks down upon a mixed surrounding, or backing; and the millionaire, mechanic, marketman, labourer, scavenger, beggar, thief, prostitute, gambler dwell within sight of each other. In this sec-

tion of the city houses are always in demand—so are tenements—it being so near the centre of business. There are very few houses vacant, and very few tenements, and rents are very high. The West end and South end, with Tremont Street, Beacon Street, Columbus Avenue, and Warren Avenue, with the abutting streets and squares, give you a population not nearly so showy as, but far richer than, that of New York, and manifesting an almost over-quiet dignity of dress and manner, in part the outgrowth of old Puritan formalism. The North end is very largely given up to the poorer classes, who hire tenements of one, two, and three rooms each, at from one and a half to three and four dollars per week. This is the most profitable property to let in the city. In this section there is a very active demand for tenements. In the case of the poorer class of tenement houses the owners let out whole blocks to individuals at fair rentals, who in turn sub-let to small tenants, doubling and in some cases quadrupling the amount they have to pay. At the South end there are more tenements vacant than in any other section. These are not of the lowest class, but range from 250 to 400 dollars a year. Some of the houses, however, are poor affairs—cheaply built—while some are not desirably located. The railroads are now so perfectly and regularly run that very many business men and mechanics are availing themselves of their convenience to locate in the suburbs, and this accounts for some of the idle houses at the South end. South Boston has also a very mixed population, and many closely-built streets of small wooden houses and small tenements. In the Charlestown district there is a dense population, and houses are pretty generally occupied, there being very few more than in ordinary years vacant. There are great complaints amongst the poorer classes in Boston of the difficulty of paying their way. Employment is not easy to obtain, especially for clerks and persons who have no skilled trade. Food is dear, except fish, which owes its cheapness to the position of Boston as the best harbour on the New England coast, opening to the sea between point Alderton on Nantasket and Point Gurley. Boston Harbour is very easy of access, and is sheltered from the ocean by the two peninsulas of which the points just named are the extremities. The fish trade of Massachusetts is an immense one, employing, directly and indirectly, several thousand sail of vessels every year. The industry is divided into two distinct branches, the fresh fish and the salt fish trade

latter being simply enormous in its proportions. The great bulk of the trade in fresh fish is done through Boston. Not so the salt fish trade, as much being now done outside and independent of Boston as through it, Gloucester leading all others in the rivalry. Most of the fresh fish sold comes from the shore or coast fisheries. The chief varieties are—mackerel, codfish, haddock, hake, pollock, herring, halibut, bluefish, swordfish, bass, tautog, smelts, &c. The price of fresh mackerel has ranged from six dollars to fourteen dollars per hundred. Halibut fetches from ten dollars to fourteen dollars per hundred; haddock about three cents per lb. Codfish three and a half cents to four cents per lb. Within twenty years past two new kinds of fish have come into general use—swordfish and bluefish. Some eighteen years ago swordfish weighing a few hundred pounds would last a week in our market. Now, during the season —which is from the last of June to the first of September—from 100 to 200 fish a week will not more than meet the demand. In size the fish range from 100 to 600 pounds, and when there is a glut the price is low, which will explain why the range of prices is so great, the same being from one dollar fifty cents to 12 dollars per hundred. Bluefish have been known for many years on the New England coast, but until within the past twenty years their visits were quite irregular. The fishermen used to dread them, as they would chase the mackerel and other fish away from their schooling grounds. Of late, however, they come every year, and we have improved the opportunity by making their acquaintance, and find we like them, and now eat them with as much gusto as they devour their smaller brethren. They are mostly caught along and round Cape Cod, in seines and weirs—in the latter from their following other fish to devour them. From the Cape large quantities of bluefish are sent to the New York market in the season, which is from the first of June to the middle of October. In winter the supply comes from the southward. They are largely handled in the Boston market, and have sold at three dollars to six dollars per 100 lbs. Striped bass is a fine fish, a limited supply coming to Boston market from Wellfleet Bay, Princetown, and other sections, but the business is not large. Black bass come from New York State. Tautog, a chubby black fish much esteemed, are caught mostly on the south side of Cape Cod. Fresh herrings are among the comforts of the winter season. They are caught around the

island of Grand Menan, and near Eastport, on the coast of Maine, and are sent here in bulk, fresh, preserved in ice, and sell (the prices given everywhere are jobbing prices) at one dollar fifty cents per hundred. The amount of business done in salt and pickled fish in Massachusetts is something quite enormous, being about twenty million dollars yearly, of which Boston transacts about one-half. There are three firms in Boston, each of which does a yearly business of a million of dollars in salt fish alone. Gloucester is the largest rival of Boston in the State in the fish trade, though a large amount is done on Cape Cod. The fleet will average fifteen men to each vessel, Gloucester having the greatest number of vessels, which are mostly manned with Nova Scotians, Portuguese, and men of other nationalities; Cape Cod fishermen, on the contrary, being mostly manned by Yankees. After the mackerel season—during which, if meeting with good luck, four trips are made, and a fare of over 1,000 barrels secured—the fishermen either go oystering to the Virginia coast, or halibut fishing on George's Banks, in the winter season. Many of them go into the West India fruit trade, and make good returns. Some of these captains are much sought after from their skill in selecting and buying fruit that will stand the voyage and land in good order. These voyages are so planned as to allow of starting again in the spring, in April, to the waters of the south coast, between Florida and Cape May, to catch the early mackerel when they first strike in. In former years these early mackerel were very lean, and fat mackerel did not come in until July and August, but now fat fish are taken from the beginning of the season. Vessels are engaged in the cod-fishing business from Gloucester, Beverly, Marblehead, Plymouth, Provincetown, Kingston, Harwich, and many places along the coast of Maine. On the latter coast large amounts are annually caught and cured. Boston has no cod fishermen, except those who provide the fresh article. About 200,000 quintals of dried cod are sold yearly. The other fish usually dried will not make five per cent. of this amount. Newfoundland sends some dried cod to this market, but its high price restricts the sale to about 4,000 quintals annually. Smoked halibut are put up in Gloucester, Beverly, and Provincetown, but the amount is now quite small to what it used to be, being not over 5,000 quintals in all places. Pickled herring come mostly from the coast of Maine, the British provinces, and Labrador.

total amount marketed here being about 50,000 barrels, and the price being from forty dollars fifty cents. to six dollars per barrel. Dried and smoked herring—bloaters and digbys—are received in large quantities from Maine and Nova Scotia, and always command a steady trade. Alewives come in large quantities from places along our coast from Cape Cod to New Brunswick. From St. John and Miramichi, and other places in the provinces, they come in bulk, and are here packed and sent off South and to the West Indies. The price is four dollars fifty cents per barrel. The mackerel trade is more than one half in value the entire salt fish business of the State, and the State does a larger salt fish business than all other States in the Union combined. There have been for the last four or five winters large numbers of persons unable to obtain employment in Boston and the neighbourhood.

NEW BEDFORD is a seaport on Buzzards Bay, and is about 55 miles due south of Boston. A very great fishing trade is done in this neighbourhood. Large schools of blackfish occasionally come into the harbour at this place, and as their peculiar habits render it almost certain that if one is wounded the whole school will be taken, and as their product in oil is very remunerative, much excitement is caused by their appearance. They are usually, upon being sighted, driven over to the Truro shore, pursued in boats, and as soon as the shallow water is reached the crews leap overboard, armed with lances, and are speedily joined by all who have seen the chase from the shore, as every one present, so long as a single fish remains alive, draws a share in the proceeds, even if he has done nothing but thrash the water. When one fish is wounded and blood begins to flow, the others all cluster around it, and are then easily killed. Twenty-three hundred blackfish have been taken on the Truro shore in this way, in the fall of 1873, which have stocked from 20,000 dols. to 25,000 dols.; and as most of those persons engaged in the catch are of the poorer class, a school is regarded by them as a grand affair. The last school, taken a few days before my visit, consisted of two hundred and eight fish, every one in the school having been killed. They sold on the shore, as they lay after being killed, for 1,300 dols. The oil-makers made a second large profit.

WALTHAM.—The American Watch Company's works at [redacted]altham, in Massachusetts, employed, in 1874, 575 hands, it equally divided, male and female, turning out 200

watches per day of ten working hours—one about every three minutes. This company have turned out already 800,000 watches, and their business is increasing. Everything embracing the watch, except the main-spring, is made upon the premises, and these they purpose making at no distant day. The steel wire, precious stones or jewels, and diamond powder used in parts of their manufacture, are imported. The watches of this company's make are now being introduced into foreign countries. The watch itself is not so wonderful as the machinery used in its manufacture. An automatic machine for making watch-screws is especially noticeable. In the construction of a high-cost watch many screws are required, hence the necessity for a machine in their manufacture instead of making them by hand as formerly. The machine is composed of some five hundred parts, yet occupying a space not larger than half a peck measure. A piece of the best quality of steel wire 13 inches in length, is put into the machine and set going, and without the least care or touch of the hand, several hundred screws are turned out per hour, all ready for use. When the last screw is cut the machine stops of itself, and is ready for another piece. Each piece will make 225 screws, and so small are they that it takes 140,000 of them to weigh a pound. This is the smallest size ever made. The same machine, however, will make larger sizes for watch use. It is so perfect in its construction—entirely automatic—that one person can tend twelve machines producing 43,200 screws daily. One very singular movement about the machine, and one most worthy of mention, is this: In the cutting of screws, more or less oil is constantly needed directly upon the work, and it has attached to it a force pump, of course diminutive in size, for pumping oil from a little fountain on to the work, just the quantity desired, which, after being used, is purified in the same machine and returns again to the fountain, ready for use as many times over as may be desired. All this, too, is done without extra labour on the part of the operator. The total number of watch factory operatives in Massachusetts in 1878 were 412 male and 254 female, of whom 350 male and 217 female were American born.

FITCHBURG.—The labour report is a little brighter so far as quantity is concerned; but the wages are said to be nearly twenty per cent. lower than they were in 1873. *Among machinists*, labourers get about a dollar and a half

per day, and skilled workmen up to three and a half dollars, the average being about two and a half dollars.

WORCESTER city is the capital of the State. Unskilled labour in 1874 got 12 dollars per week—skilled labour was chiefly piece-work; there was a superabundance of labour.

WEBSTER, in Massachusetts, is about sixteen miles from Worcester, and is a small manufacturing place, with a population in all of about 8,000 persons. The principal works are broadcloth, but trade is described as "tremendously dull" there. All the works are running short time, and the men's wages do not average a dollar and a half a day. Yorkshiremen are recommended not to come to Webster or its neighbourhood, as there are already too many persons seeking work in the vicinity. There is a very large proportion of French Canadians in and about Webster who keep wages low, as they are always coming in from the North eager for employ. They are very quiet and very economical, go away as soon as they have saved a little money, and are replaced by new comers. The Germans are very different in their habits; they settle, have homes of their own, and help to improve the neighbourhood. There are about 1,600 Germans in Webster, chiefly employed in cigar-making and weaving, and the Americans speak very highly of their peaceful and social disposition. Wood is here eight dollars a cord. The cord is four feet high, four feet wide, and eight feet long. Coal is very expensive, hard coal being nine dollars per ton, and soft coal twelve dollars per ton. The cheapest edibles are oysters at fifty cents a quart, packed right solid, without shells. Oatmeal is seven cents a pound, flour nine and a half dollars the barrel.

LOWELL, in the State of Massachusetts, is a cheerful-looking manufacturing town, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Merrimack River, with a population of about 45,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. Formerly, Lowell was considered the Manchester of New England; but during the last dozen years she has been outstripped by her more vigorous rivals, Manchester, Lawrence, and Fall River. The inability of Lowell to keep pace with her competitors, arises in part from the fact that all the available water-power has been utilised by the existing mills; and, in chief, because the Lowell Mills were at one time almost entirely run with Boston money; so that the profits realised were drawn to Boston, and but little was spent in the development of Lowell. This is, however, now being remedied by independent enterprise,

and Lowell bids fair to extend very widely during the coming decade. There are eighty cotton, woollen, and hosiery mills, besides machine shops and other works, representing an invested capital approaching seventeen millions of dollars, and employing about 16,000 hands, of whom 10,000 are females. In the mills there are 678,521 spindles and 15,189 looms. There are no co-operative mills in the town. There is, however, no room here for emigrants. Labour is more offered than needed, and there are many who come in from the surrounding towns for employment, and are obliged to go back unable to get work. There has been since 1868 a very strong immigration into Lowell from Canada, and this is so marked, that there are actually whole streets, formerly inhabited by Irish workpeople, which are now entirely occupied by French Canadians. One street, Suffolk Street, hitherto an Irish quarter, is now wholly French Canadian. This influx from Canada increases each year. I was specially invited to make an inspection of Lowell and its industries, and did so under the able and courteous guidance of Senator W. F. Salmon, Manager of the Lowell Hosiery Company, whose premises I first visited. Here about 200 hands are employed, and about 240,000 dozen of women's stockings are manufactured annually. Almost everything is done by piecework. The women earn on an average 1 dol. 25 cents per day; the best getting 1 dol. 75 cents. Their board costs them about 2 dols. 75 cents per week. The men's wages average about 1 dol. 70 cents per day, the highest 2 dols. The appearance of the women employed in the Lowell Hosiery Mill pleased me very much; they were clean, healthy, and mostly good-looking. The sewing machines used were by Wilcox and Gibbs, doing 1,600 stitches to the minute. Each stocking passes through eighty-one different hands after the yarn is made, before it is ready for the market, and the trade price is 85 cents per dozen pairs, or 1 dol. for the best quality. Nine-tenths of the hose made here go to New York. The Lawrence Company are larger manufacturers of hosiery and of other goods, and employ in all about 1,600 hands, but I had not enough time to visit their fine premises. My second call was at the Lowell Machine Shop, established in 1845, and employing when in full work about 1,250 men. Here I was received by the superintendent, Mr. George Richardson, who said that for the last six months of 1873 they had only been employing 500 hands, and who did not speak as if the prospect of increase was

promising. He said that now of course there were large numbers out of employment, but that even in the busiest times they had always a full supply of labour, and that many of the machinists and moulders had been returning to England during 1873. He stated that the workmen were of mixed nationality, about three-quarters being American born. Mr. Richardson said that wages ranged about 10 per cent. less than last year: "Either more work for the same pay, or less pay for the same work." As this establishment uses at least 7,000 tons of iron per annum, I asked whence the supply was got. Mr. Richardson replied: "Until six months ago I always imported Scotch pig and used it with English refined. Since, I have only bought American iron, and, unless there is a great change, shall continue to do so; it is a pure question of dollars." From thence I went to the Boott Cotton Mills, which commenced work in 1836 with a capital of 1,200,000 dollars; and to-day employ, all told, about 1,875 hands, of whom about 1,600 are in regular employment, and over 1,200 are females. Five-eighths of those employed in the Boott Works are American born, and one-fourth are Irish. There is, in this mill, a disposition to exclude the French Canadians, as being less reliable as permanent hands. There are 111,872 spindles and 2,368 looms. Mr. Cumnock, the agent, stated that prior to the financial panic there was a scarcity of female labour, but that male labour had always been plentiful; that since the panic there had been an over-supply of all kinds of labour. The wage of women adult weavers is 1 dol. 14½ cents per day; spinners and carders, 92 cents per day; warpers, 1 dol. 18 cents per day; the work done by the warpers is of a greatly improved character since the introduction of the slashing system. The average wages for men was 1 dol. 73½ cents per day. On inquiring as to the cost of food, I found that the Boott Company, in common with the other Boston companies having works in the town of Lowell, had erected boarding-houses called "Corporation Boarding-houses." Thirty-five persons board in a single house, or seventy in a double house. Each border pays 2 dols. 25 cents per week for board, but as the actual cost of boarding is higher than this, the Corporation pays to the boarding-mistress an additional 6 cents per day per head. That is, in effect, that each work-girl residing in the Corporation Boarding-house has higher pay to the extent of 6 cents per day than the work-girls who elect to board in places of their own choice. These houses

are very strictly controlled, as will be seen by the following extracts from the printed regulations for tenants occupying houses belonging to the Boott Cotton Mills:—

"The houses are for the use of persons employed in these Mills, and for no others.

"Tenants must not underlet their tenements, or any part thereof. They are not to board or lodge any person not employed by the Company, or permit males and females to board in the same house, without special permission given by the Agent.

"No one is allowed to keep swine or fowls.

"It is very important that all persons who live in the houses should be vaccinated, and when requested, this will be done by the superintendent of the hospital, free of charge.

"Boarding-house keepers must close their houses at 10 o'clock in the evening, and not admit any person after that hour without a proper and sufficient reason, and they must not permit boarders to have company at unseasonable hours.

"Persons employed by the Company, who live in one of their houses, when sick, can have the privileges of the hospital owned by the Companies, at a very reasonable expense.

"Regular attendance on public religious worship on the Sabbath by all persons employed by the Company, or occupying the Company's houses, is required and expected; and boarding-house keepers and others are desired to use their influence that so important a regulation may be observed.

"A. G. CUMNOCK, Agent, Boott Cotton Mills, Lowell."

About one-third of the female hands board in the boarding-houses. I entered one boarding-house, No. 28, John Street, kept by a Mrs. Ricker: about seventy persons slept in this house, and about one hundred had their meals there. Most of the women had separate rooms, some few had double-bedded rooms, the furniture was always neat and clean, and in some cases much better than I expected. The meal-rooms were scrupulously clean and spacious, and there was, in addition, a comfortably-furnished guest parlour. A fair illustration of the kind of food provided was found in the sight of half a dozen chickens which were being prepared for cooking as I walked through the kitchen. At night the street where the houses are situated is patrolled by one of the Company's men, and any disorderly conduct would be at once punished by dismissal from the works and expulsion from the dwelling. Some contend that the regulations are too strict, and that the Corporation boarding system is breaking down, but the manager, Mr. Cumnock, pointed with some pride to the general respectability and good conduct of his female hands, as evidence of the *successful working* of the system. The Boott Mills are fitted

with splendid fire-escapes and fire-extinguishing apparatus, thus avoiding a like calamity to that which recently occurred at Fall River, where several women were burnt to death. The fire-escapes are on the outside of the mill walls at every hundred yards' distance, and are double inclined ladders, railed, and with a platform at each storey. They are the most complete that I have yet seen. The fire-extinguishing apparatus is so fixed that there is an appropriate fire house near each mill. In these houses gas is kept burning day and night, and there are as many upright iron rods as there are rooms in the mill. Each rod has an iron plate top about the size of an ordinary dinner plate, on which is painted the name of the room, and a direction which way to turn to open the valve. The water is kept constantly at very high pressure, and one turn of the plate would flood the whole of the room with which the rod was connected, or fill that room with water spray. In three minutes, by a dozen twists of the hand, every room in one of the huge mills could be literally drenched with water by a person quite strange to the premises. I was very glad to hear the good account given of the improving condition of the Irish population at Lowell; the homes seen by me were very clean, the children healthy and well dressed. The following are general statistics, on an average, of all the manufactories in Lowell:—Wages of females, clear of board, per week, 3 dols. 60 cents, to 3 dols. 75 cents; wages of males, clear of board, per day, 1 dol. 20 cents, to 2 dols.; medium produce of a loom, No. 14 yarn, forty-five yards per day; medium produce of a loom, No. 30 yarn, thirty yards per day; average per spindle, one and a quarter yards per day. The German emigrants have not settled at all in Lowell. In the neighbourhood of Lowell, and in the trains, I heard many persons complaining that they had ineffectively sought to obtain work; and I most distinctly urge that no Lancashire, Yorkshire, or Midland county mill-hand ought to come here.

FALL RIVER is a cotton manufacturing town of first rank in the State of Massachusetts, with a population of about 45,000 inhabitants. The older part of Fall River is mostly built of wood, and in the case of a night fire occurring its dwellings would stand a very bad chance. The more modern buildings are brick. As a manufacturing town it is comparatively new. It has 43 mills, with 29,865 looms. Its first old mill dates back to 1817, but so late as 1859 it

had only progressed to 80,000 spindles. In 1874 it had 1,200,000. I visited the Granite Mill, which runs 42,000 spindles, and in which 900 hands are employed. I was struck by its extraordinary clean and spacious rooms, so different from the crowded, close, and stuffy mills in the Lancashire valleys. The fine Corliss engine of 600 horse-power and the looms were American-made, but the mules bore the familiar name of Platt and Co., Oldham, and the fly-frames came from Accrington. The employés are English, Irish, and French Canadians, the latter of whom have all arrived from the Dominion within the last five years, and each year in increasing numbers. This last fact, coupled with what I have learned in other places, shows that the Canadian population has a tendency to leave for America, and thus evidences that Canada is not the country to be selected by English emigrants. The English are an increasing portion of the population, and there is but a very small German element in Fall River. The figures as to work and wages were furnished by Mayor Davis and the Honourable Senator Stickner, and also by the men and women employed; and my advice to Lancashire and Yorkshire operatives, is not to emigrate to Fall River in the hope of earning higher wages than they get at home. Weavers tending six looms get from 1 dollar 35 cents to 1 dollar 60 cents per day; spinners, 2 dollars 15 cents to 2 dollars 60 cents; carding room tenders (five frames), 1 dollar 50 cents; drawing frame girls (lowest kind of work), 1 dollar per day; spooling girls, 1 dollar 25 cents; drawing-in girls, 1 dollar 50 cents; warp tenders, 1 dollar 75 cents. The employers say that there is a fair supply of labour, and the workers say that there is a larger supply than demand. In November, 1873, the mills were only running half time, in consequence of the terrible financial panic then prevailing. Nearly all the work is piece-work, and as a rule the hours of labour are longer than in England. The workers say that it takes one week's out of a month's wages to pay rent; provisions too are dear; the lowest board is five dollars per week, decent board costs nearer seven dollars. A man with his wife able to work and a grown-up family would do well, but a man with small children would be better off in Lancashire. This state of things has grown up since the war, before which the necessaries of life were less costly.

In the Report on the Statistics of Labour for Massachusetts, 1875, *p.* 82, Messrs. Wright and Long say that the

effect of piece-work on females employed in the principal cotton factories of the State has been detrimental to health. The private and hospital records showed that nearly a third more patients came from the piece-workers than from the day-workers. In the report for 1876, p. 339, the following conclusions are given after careful examination :—

*First.*—That in the majority of cases working men in this Commonwealth do not support their families by their individual earnings alone.

*Second.*—That the amount of earnings contributed by wives, generally speaking, is so small, that they would save more by staying at home than they gain by outside labour.

*Third.*—That fathers rely, or are forced to depend upon their children for from *one-quarter* to *one-third* of the entire family earnings.

*Fourth.*—That children under fifteen years of age supply, by their labour, from *one-eighth* to *one-sixth* of the total family earnings.

The average hours of labour through Massachusetts in 1876 for males were ten and one-third hours, and for females ten and three-quarter hours. By an Act of 1874, minors under eighteen and women are forbidden to be employed more than sixty hours per week.

## MAINE.

LEWISTON is the Lowell of the State of Maine, and is situate on the banks of the Androscoggin River, about twenty miles above that river's junction with the Kennebec, and forty miles from the sea. Lewiston has 20,000 inhabitants, and is chiefly a cotton manufacturing town. On the opposite bank of the river is Auburn, with a population of 10,000, and this has a large boot and shoe manufacturing trade. Lewiston and Auburn have both increased rapidly since 1850, when the united population of both towns was only about 6,000. Five years earlier the whole district was almost without inhabitants. The largest cotton mills in Lewiston are the Androscoggin and the Continental, the former employing 1,100 hands, and having 62,000 spindles, and 1,172 looms; the latter employing 1,300 hands, and running 70,000 spindles, and 1,546 looms. There are in all about a quarter of a million spindles and 50,000 looms now at work in Lewiston. Ever since the war, until very lately, the demand for labour has always been a little in excess of the supply. In 1874 the mills have all been running short time,

and there was also a fuller supply of the unemployed labour from the Massachusetts district. There are but very few Germans, but the French Canadian element is enormously on the increase. A few years ago there were scarcely any French Canadians in Lewiston, but they are augmenting in numbers each year, and have now built there a Roman Catholic church. In the streets many French names appear on the shop signs, and some of the announcements are entirely in French. The Irish are giving way before the stream of Canadian immigration. The "French help," as it is called by the Lewiston employers, is ranked higher than the Irish, especially in the weaving, as the women manifest a lighter and more nervous touch. The objection to the Canadian French is that after sixteen they will not willingly speak anything but French, and the Roman Catholic priest tries to hinder the acquisition of English by the younger children. For wages the pickers and strippers get one and a half dollars per day, girls six and three-quarter dollars per week. For warp spinning on ring frames, with young class of help, 92 cents per day; filling mule-spinning, 2 dollars per day; spooling, warping, and dressing department, with English slashers, females, 1 dollar 8 cents per day; males, 1 dollar 50 cents per day; weavers, 1 dollar 20 cents per day. In some of the fancy-coloured work girls are earning two to two and a-half dollars per day; but this is very hard work, and few can stand it. Board in the Corporation Houses costs two dollars per week, but in addition to this the companies pay half a dollar per week, which is in fact an increase of wage. Mechanics employed on the machinery in the mill get two and a-half dollars per day. I was a little puzzled at first, for the wages were stated to me in shillings and pence, but I found that Maine shillings ranked six to the dollar, thus differing greatly in value from our twelvepenny shillings. Rents, for workpeople living in their own homes, are fearfully high, and the accommodation is very inadequate, four poor rooms, with convenience, making a very undesirable tenement for a small family—rent at 150 dollars per year. Good poultry fetches 20 cents per pound, but inferior poultry can be got as low as 10 cents. Beef of best quality is very dear.

Sirloin steaks in 1874 were retailing at 25 to 28 cents. There are about 60 lbs. of sirloin in a 1,200 lbs. beeve. One part of the sirloin is called Porterhouse, and sells at 28 cents. *Rump steak* sells at 25 cents, and an ordinary beeve will

furnish about 70 lbs. Round steak sells at 18 to 22 cents, and there is about 60 lbs. of this steak in a good beeve. The back half of a fore quarter will weigh about 140 lbs., and sells from 18 to 22 cents per lb. The first cut will sell for from 20 to 22 cents per lb., the next from 18 to 20 cents, then a cut for 18 cents, then one for 15 cents, and the balance at from 5 to 12 cents. This is the portion where choice roasting pieces are taken from usually. The lower half of the fore quarter is the heaviest of the sub-divisions, being about 150 lbs. The rib part or "rattlerand" weighs 32 lbs., and is used for roasting, &c. The shin weighs about 14 lbs., and is worth only 4 cents per lb. The balance, which includes the brisket, is called "chuck," probably because it is "chucked" into brine and corned. This is worth from 8 to 10 cents. per lb. Some dealers often make on cutting out of the back piece, near the neck, choice pieces, which they sell for the same prices as realised for first or second cuts. If people will persist in having choice roasting pieces, to the lack of demand for the less desirable parts, they must expect to pay high prices. Flanks, and some of the other portions not in demand, can now be bought at prices as low as before the war.

*Mutton and Veal.*—Mutton is plenty at 9 to 10 cents per lb. This market is taking a good deal more mutton in proportion to the beef consumed than it used to do. Common lots sell at 7 to 8 cents. There is little in the market, as the article is not wanted here as much as in Boston, where it almost always commands a good price, on account of the hotel demand.

*Pork.*—Western hogs cost 60 cents more a hundred this week than last, a fact which will give tone to the market in the East. Good Maine hogs are in demand at 10 to 11 cents; fine round carcases sell quickly at 11 cents. Some of our own provision dealers are salting down large numbers of Maine hogs, which are preferred by consumers. Fresh hams sell at 12 to 12½ cents. Pork steak, 10 cents; spare-rib, 15 to 16 cents. The spare rib is the most popular part of the pork.

*Vegetables.*—Potatoes continue low. Early Rose are the favourites in our market at 50 cents per bushel; any good potatoes will fetch that price. Onions sell at 1 dol. 25 cents per bushel. Turnips, beets, carrots, and ordinary squash [illegible] *at one* cent per pound; extra squash 1½ to 2 cents. *t potatoes* sell at 4 cents, if you don't pick 'em; 5 cents

if you overhaul the barrel. Beans fetch 3 dollars by the bushel.

The "squash" and "sweet potatoes" are vegetables unknown to the English table. The squash is not unlike a pumpkin, and is served boiled like a turnip, and is also a favourite dish as squash pie. Sweet potatoes are thought very good; they come from the Southern States. Butter is thirty-four cents per pound; in Boston it is fifty cents. Cheese is fifteen cents per pound; in Boston it is twenty cents. Eggs are thirty-five cents per dozen.

"Wood sells at about seven dollars fifty cents per cord for a good article. About 3,000 cords of wood are sold from teams per year in Haymarket Square in this city. Probably 20,000 to 30,000 cords are annually consumed in Lewiston and Auburn. The consumption of coal increases faster than consumption of wood."

DEXTER.—At the Dexter Woollen Mills, in Maine, the lowest wage for adult males in 1874 was one dollar twenty-five cents per day; the highest wage one dollar seventy-five cents. Females get from seventy-five cents to one and a half dollars per day. Board costs two dollars twenty-five cents per week. A considerable number of French Canadians are employed in the woollen mills, and nearly all the hard and unskilled labour is performed by French Canadians or Acadian Frenchmen (that is, French Nova Scotians), who get for this one and a half dollars to one dollar seventy-five cents per day. There is a full supply of labour, and I do not advise any one to go to Dexter for employment in the woollen mills. There are no Germans working in the town. Several slate quarries have been opened at Monson, Brownville, Kineo, and other places in the neighbourhood; and I am of opinion that there is here a first-class opening for good quarrymen. I saw some of the slate, quarried within three feet of the surface at Sebec, the quality of which was equal to the best North Wales slate, splitting easily and smoothly, and free from foreign matters. The quarries need both capital and skilled labour. Very strong inducements would be given to Welsh quarrymen who would come out to work on piecework. At present all the quarrymen here are paid by the day.

ROCKLAND.—A small seaport town in the State of Maine; is a weary nine and a half hours' ride north-east from Boston. The chief sustenance of Rockland is granite quarrying and *wooden ship*-building; the first is a growing, the second a

reviving, business. Rockland Granite Quarries supply as far as New York City. The stone-cutters get from four to four and a half dollars per day; but the employment is limited in the winter, and the work is very hard. Unskilled labourers get from two and a quarter to two and a half dollars per day. Rent and living is very much cheaper in Maine than in New York, so that men are much better off on these wages; there is, however, an abundance of labour. Many of the best stone-cutters are Scotch, from the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, and they bear a very good character for industry and sobriety. Ship-building is rapidly increasing in Maine, and more wooden vessels were built in 1873 than in the half-dozen years preceding. The chief places for ship-building are Rockland, Thomaston, Walderborough, and Bath. Shipwrights get from two and a half to three and a half dollars a day, and the work seems likely to increase, but at present there is no difficulty in getting all the labour required. The principal part of the timber used is white oak and yellow pine, and is brought from the South, where it grows larger and better. The iron used in the ship-building was nearly all American, being now nearly thirty dollars a ton cheaper in Boston than English iron of similar quality. The manufacture and consumption of American iron is enormously on the increase, and the importation of English iron bids fair to go down more and more every day. The American iron is softer than the English, and the English steel is reputed superior to anything manufactured in the United States. Judged as a whole, I cannot recommend any emigration, except for shipwrights, to the State of Maine, and in their case great care and caution are required.

The chief trade of Maine, so far as the north-east section is concerned, is lumber; there are several tanneries, one or two woollen mills for local supply, and an axe manufactory; but lumber—that is, cut timber—is the staple. The logs are floated down the river to Bangor, whence they are sent all over the world. At Bangor there are several piers, about ten feet wide by fifteen feet long at the base, and about ten feet at the top, sloping off to meet the stream; in fact, "sorting piers," to which baulks were to be fastened, so that the logs might there be sorted out, each being identifiable by the owner's trade-mark on its end. The lumber trade gives employment for many hands. During winter wages generally from twenty-six to thirty-three dollars per

month, besides food; this winter the pay has been much lower, ranging from twenty-two to twenty-four dollars per month. In spring and part of summer the rate is about one dollar seventy-five cents per day. There is no lack of labour, and no temptation in this trade to emigrants. Native lumberers are more skilful when the trade is brisk; but the lumber trade is now on the wane. Twenty-five years ago it was all heavy pine, but the heavy pine has gone long since before the unsparing axe. Then the spruce was taken, and now that is failing, the hemlock is being cut as a last resource. So say the initiated; to an unlearned eye it seems as if the timber, which stretches on every side till the gaze is wearied, in the vain endeavour to measure its extent, would feed the world for years to come. St. Andrews, on the river St. Croix, was formerly the great timber port. The huge pine logs were then sent thence rough-hewn; to-day water-driven saw-mills are to be found on the inland side of Calais, both on the American and English banks of the river. It is said that near here, and in New Brunswick, there is room for farm labourers, who get twenty dollars per month and board; but this, if true, can only apply to a very limited number. About 1871 red granite was found at St. George, on the Magagnadavic River, and this granite has since also been found at Red Beech; it is exactly the red granite of Scotland, and will open out quite a new field of employment for competent granite quarriers.

HOULTON has about 4,000 population, and is the capital of Aroostook county, which bounds the State of Maine on the east for four-fifths of the length of New Brunswick, and touches Quebec on the north. Houlton has only been connected with the world since 1870, and its nearest neighbour is Woodstock, about twelve miles distant on the English side. A few woollen manufactories are now springing up in Houlton, but they are as yet too new for one to judge of them. The surrounding country is highly praised for agricultural purposes. The area of Aroostook is 6,800 square miles, and its population increased from 3,399 in 1830 to 29,609 in 1870. It may probably now be fairly estimated at about 34,000. The best farming lands of Aroostook are said to be embraced in a belt thirty miles broad, west from the eastern boundary of the State of Maine, and running north and south between the Penobscot and Aroostook rivers. The land nearest the boundary is the richest, and is most thickly settled, but there is still much

first-class land to be got, the price varying from 2 to 10 dollars per acre, according to the situation. The climate is healthy; the soil will grow wheat, oats, buckwheat, hay, and potatoes, which find easy markets now, by rail, in Bangor, Portland, and Boston. Farm labourers are hired during the season at 30 dollars per month with board and lodging; but it would not do for English agricultural labourers to be enticed by these high wages, for they only last about three months, and unless the labourer can work during the rest of the year at lumbering and wood-sawing, he will have a very poor look-out. Small farmers who could start here with anything over £100 might do very well; a penniless man had better stay at home. A considerable number of French Canadians drift into Maine, but they are not favourites. They are said to be lazy, unthrifty, and unsettled in their habits—so far as Aroostook knows them.

Maine has for the last twenty years had a special land law, by which any settler—whether or not a citizen of the United States of America—has the right to select any lot of State land yet unappropriated, and to pay for it in labour. The State, at any rate so far as Aroostook is concerned, is divided into squares, each square containing six miles. These squares are again subdivided into lots, each containing 160 acres, or about half a mile square. About 25,000 acres are still unappropriated. On selecting a lot the selector gives his promissory notes for 80 dollars payable to the State, being at the rate of half a dollar per acre, for the land. These notes are payable over three years, one-third each year, but are not payable in money. They are to be paid in labour of road-making (round the allotments selected), at the rate of two dollars per day, that is forty days' labour at road-making during three years, or not quite a fortnight in each year, will pay for the land. In addition to this, the settler must bind himself to clear and cultivate within four years not less than fifteen acres of the land he has thus acquired. When the notes are given by the settler to the land agent, the latter gives to the intending settler an authority to reside on the land, and to appropriate the crops. It is estimated that the first crop covers the cost of clearing, which, if you hired labour to effect the clearing, would cost about five dollars per acre. The land gives 114 bushels of oats per acre, 40 bushels of wheat, and 40 bushels of buck-wheat, but no crop can of course be got until the second *from the* commencement of the clearing, and it is by

far the best to have some one to help you to clear. A fair woodsman will clear half an acre per day easily, but to do this his axe must not be idle. Settlers unused to lumbering are recommended, instead of taking State lands, which are necessarily all bush lands, to purchase land already cleared and improved. Mr. W. S. Gilman, *Aroostook Pioneer*, Houlton, Maine, will gladly answer any question or inquiries that may be addressed to the State Land Agent, Bangor, Maine. English readers will be a little startled when they are told that during the winter the thermometer goes to 20 degrees below zero, and that the houses are banked round with earth, about three feet high and nearly that thickness, to keep the cold out. It is said that this cold is not much felt except when heavy winds come, and then it is very terrible. Artisans who could utilise the enormous quantities of small timber now being wasted might, it is said, do well in last making, or turning, or peg manufacturing. I give the facts, but am unable myself to offer any advice as to settlements in Eastern Maine; certainly no one should come with less than £100 in his pocket after he gets here. To send pauper labourers here would be cruel in the extreme.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

LANCASTER is a very old-fashioned town, of about 20,000 inhabitants, the centre of perhaps the richest agricultural district in Pennsylvania. In one of the principal streets of Lancaster there is a log-house 127 years old; and the town once had the honour for a few hours of being the capital of the United States. This was when General Howe and the British troops compelled Congress to abandon Philadelphia. Nearly all the farms round Lancaster are small ones, eighty acres being considered a large farm. They grow chiefly wheat and tobacco. There is very little hired farm labour here. There are some considerable mines, one very rare one of nickel, in the county. There are four cotton factories in Lancaster, but wages are very low. There is a good proportion of Pennsylvanian Dutch of the old immigrants' stock about Lancaster county, who have preserved the language, and many of the habits, of a century and a half ago.

From all my inquiries about the Pennsylvanian district

my advice to intending emigrants would be, "Keep away unless you have capital."

Meeting one of the Pittsburgh steel manufacturers, I pressed him as to the state of trade in the Sheffield of Pennsylvania. His view is that of an employer of labour; but he seemed a straightforward man. He reported the state of trade as very dull, but looking more hopeful for the future, with returning confidence. The puddlers were then on strike, they having been getting six dollars per ton, out of which they have to pay helpers, making a net wage of about five dollars per day; but this wage is higher than it will be. In June, July, and August, during the intensely hot weather, they have to employ a second help, and they get in those three months an additional dollar, called the "hot dollar." Rollers get two and a half dollars per ton, and for bars two dollars per ton. Unskilled labourers get one and a half dollars per day; and, as a large employer of labour, my informant told me that he considered it "an outrage to ask them to work for less." Yet there are so many men out of employ round Pittsburgh that common labourers have offered themselves as low as four dollars per week. A class of men called "nobblers," working iron in charcoal fires, get six dollars thirty cents per ton, which, after paying their own help, gives them clear about four dollars fifty cents per day. These are all Swedes, who are regarded as the best workmen, and most to be depended on. Machine-puddling has not been found successful in Pittsburgh, except for inferior classes of metal.

In the case of the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, who are also the largest coal-owners in the Schuylkill region, claimed in 1875 that they paid the lowest class of unskilled labour one dollar and a half per day, and that the skilled miners earn three dollars per day. F. B. Gowen, the president of the railroad, states, however, that "in every iron mine along the valley of the Schuylkill you will see labouring men—men of some skill, men able to mine iron ore—working for ninety cents per day." It should be remembered, too, that from these wages, then being paid in paper currency, nearly one-seventh had to be deducted for the depreciation in value [redacted] paper as against gold. The mining population consists of [redacted] one-third American born, of whom the majority are [redacted] are known as Pennsylvanian Dutch; about one-third [redacted] British Isles; and the remaining one-third mixed

foreigners. The increase of population engaged in mining in Schuylkill and Luzerne counties, Pennsylvania, has been very great. The census of 1850 showed for Schuylkill 60,713; in 1870 it had swollen to 116,428. Luzerne in 1850 had 56,072, and in 1870, 160,915.

The coal of the district is largely anthracite, and is valued, after it has passed the breakers at the pit's mouth, at about two dollars per ton, of which two dollars one and a half dollars is the estimated cost of raising. The bituminous coal of Pennsylvania is of inferior quality, and lies so much deeper that the working is small in proportion to its large area. The coal is sent by rail a distance of about 240 miles to Tidewater, at Port Richmond, Philadelphia, where it is sold free on board at from 5 dols. 60 cents to 6 dols. 50 cents for stove coal, and from 4¾ dols. to 5 dols. 50 cents for the size known as chesnut. The water freight thence to Boston is about 1 dol. 60 cents per ton, of which 30 cents is the estimated cost of discharging the vessel. The Wilkesbarre Coal Company take this 30 cents from the captain, and do their own discharging. They pay six men 4 cents each per ton to perform the work, making the actual cost of discharging 24 cents only. A gang of six men can discharge 200 tons in a day, but the work is very heavy.

The Schuylkill and Mahony coal fields contain 237 square miles of anthracite coal, and were the first opened in Pennsylvania. It is claimed that, on account of the geological formation, the structure of the stratification, and the number of axes of depression and elevation, there are to the square mile more places for opening collieries in the Schuylkill and Mahony region than in any other. The upper strata of the coal measures, which are absolutely denuded in the Lehigh region, and which are partially washed away in the Lackwanna or Wyoming region, exist intact in the Schuylkill. Thus, in Lehigh region there are only three or four veins of coal, in Wyoming from eight to ten, and in some parts of Schuylkill seventeen distinct strata. In 1840 the Schuylkill region produced 495,596 tons of coal; in 1850, 1,840,620 tons; in 1860, 3,749,532 tons; in 1870, 4,851,855 tons; in 1874 its production had swollen to 6,500,000 tons; in 1870 the Wyoming region, from 198 square miles of coal, produced 7,825,128 tons of coal, and this had increased 18 per cent. in 1874. The coal area of Pennsylvania is, for anthracite about 470 square miles, for bituminous 12,656 square miles. In 1874 there was—as a

consequence of the panic of the preceding winter—much depression in the American coal and iron trades; the demand for coal slackened, the stock increased, and the great companies proposed a reduction of wage of 10 per cent., or to work less time. The men not only refused to accept the reduction, and struck against it, but actually demanded an an increase. Faults occurred on both sides; force was often used by the men on strike to prevent those who were satisfied to remain working from acting as they desired. Weapons were resorted to alike by the men and by the employers, and armed guards threatening notice and shootings unfortunately figured. After a long struggle through a terribly severe winter, the men were utterly beaten, and at last went in to work on the terms they originally refused.

MICHIGAN.—The State of Michigan is divided by Lakes Michigan and Huron; the southern part is known as the lower peninsula; the north and north-western part as the upper peninsula. The lower peninsula has Lake Michigan on its west, Lake Erie on its south-east, and Lake Huron on its north-east; its southern boundary line touching the States of Indiana and Ohio. The upper peninsula has Lake Michigan for its southern and south-eastern boundaries, Lake Huron on its extreme east, for its northern boundary Lake Superior, and for its south-western and western boundary line Wisconsin. I travelled all the western line of the Lake Michigan on the Wisconsin side, from Chicago to Milwaukee, and the eastern line of the lake through Michigan, from Grand Haven all round to Chicago. Michigan is about half way across the United States territory, for nearly seven hundred miles abutting on British Canada. Michigan is quite modern as a settled country, and only became one of the States of the Union in 1835. Most of her progress has been made during the last twenty-five years, during which period her population has increased from 397,658 to nearly 1,500,000, at which figure it is at present estimated. Michigan's pine forests, extending formerly over nearly half her 40,000,000 acres, were once her chief wealth, and even now her forest growth and lumber trade is very great. It is reckoned that in 1872 two billions and a quarter of feet of pine timber, with 400,000 shingles (short, broad, flat, thin wood, used for roofing purposes) and 300,000 laths, were cut in the various saw mills of the State; while of oak timber 12,690,100 staves were shipped in the same year. *There are iron* mines in the State, chiefly in County Mar-

quette; and although the iron industry is yet only partially developed, for lack of capital, last year's returns show more than 1,200,000 tons of ore and pig iron sent from the State. Her copper wealth is great, but yet very imperfectly dealt with, from lack of transport facilities. There is a curious fact for those desiring to prove the antiquity of man in connection with these copper mines. In 1847 Mr. Knapp discovered an excavation and cavern, in which were found several stone hammers, and an immense mass of native copper resting on wooden supports. Since that time numerous discoveries of a similar character have been made. In some instances these pits have been found containing tools and pieces of charred wood, with many feet of alluvial soil and huge forest trees, apparently of centuries growth, above them, indicating that ages have elapsed since the workings were made. The race of Indians who inhabited Michigan before its settlement by the whites knew nothing of the existence of the copper veins, nor had they any knowledge of tools or implements like those found in the abandoned pits. From the skill and strength evidenced in the deserted mines it is inferred that these early miners belonged to a race now unknown, coeval perhaps with the mound-builders of Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. Grand Haven, in Michigan, is by some called the Saratoga of the West. I went out, in a light waggon, with a fast-trotting horse, and a wind blowing in front, which seemed to bite my face, to see one of its shingle mills, situate on a little creek opening into the lake. The huge logs are brought to this creek by steam tugs, and are hauled up from the creek into the mill by chains along an inclined plane, fitted with rollers. The steam power which haul the logs also drives a huge circular saw, which slices off the bark and a thin piece of wood on each side. The pieces thus cut off are passed along by steam-driven, self-acting rollers to another steam saw, which cuts the pieces into lengths. The long piece off the length required goes by its own weight into a receptacle, where it waits to be carted away, being sold as fuel for engines; the smaller pieces go down another waste pipe, and are conducted by large bands to the waste heap. All the wood is pine. When the huge log has been partly squared, as above described, it is cut into rough blocks of the exact length required for the shingles. These are passed by boys to the requisite saws, where they are rapidly sliced into shingles. These shingles are carefully assorted, all

knotted and imperfect ones being rejected. They are sold all over the Western States, some going even as far South as Texas. Every portion of the work that can be done by machinery is so done. The engine is fed with fuel by aid of the very steam it creates. The furnace is a self-feeding one, the sawdust being conducted to conduits which feed the fire-holes. The mass of employés are boys, who all work piece-work, and earn on an average one and a quarter dollars a day. The chief shingle sawyer, a man who works at a dangerous machine, gets three and a quarter dollars a day. A man working beside him, working on a sawing machine of simpler construction, gets two dollars per day; the chief filer of saws, a highly-skilled mechanic, gets 5 dollars 75 cents. per day, the second filer 3 dollars 75 cents. There are about 1,500 persons employed in the lumber trade in Grand Haven, and their pay averages 1 dollar 75 cents. per day. The population is about 5,000, of whom 2,000 are Germans. Work is bad and hard to get here for strangers. While being shaved this morning I was told that a German, almost unable to speak English, but carrying a fine saw, came for a job at wood-cutting, and got employ to cut two cords of firewood at 75 cents the cord. This job would take a skilled man one day, but would probably take the poor "Dutchman" a day and a half.

ANN ARBOR is a pretty little town of about 12,000 inhabitants, 714 miles from New York, and notified its existence as we approached it by its agricultural implement works and its flour mill. Ann Arbor is also the seat of the University of Michigan, a very large and prosperous institution, and having about 1,200 students of both sexes. The University proper was opened in 1841, but its first charter dates back to 1817. It now takes a leading place amongst the collegiate institutions of the United States. I quote the following extract from the calendar for the current year :—

"The University of Michigan is a part of the public educational system of the State. The constitution of the State provides for the perpetuation of the governing body of the institution, the Board of Regents. They are elected for terms of eight years by popular vote. In accordance with the law of the State, the University aims to complete and crown the work which is begun in the public schools, by furnishing ample facilities for liberal education in literature, science, and the arts, and for thorough and extended professional study of medicine and law. Through the aid which has been received from the United States and from the State, it is enabled to offer its privileges, *without charge of tuition,* to all persons, of either sex, who are qualified for admission.

Its relation to the public schools of the State has now become even closer and more vital than formerly, since under certain conditions the graduates of high schools are received into the University without examination. While Michigan has endowed her University primarily for the higher education of her own sons and daughters, it must be understood that she also opens the doors of the institution to all students (male and female), wherever their homes. Students from other States are asked to pay a larger admission fee than students from Michigan; the admission fee is ten dollars to natives of Michigan, twenty-five dollars to all others; but they receive their instruction, and access to all the advantages of life at the University, *without incurring any charge for tuition*. It is in this broad, generous, and hospitable spirit that the University has been founded, and that it endeavours to do its work.

"The University is organised in three departments, as follows: the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts; the Department of Medicine and Surgery; the Department of Law. Each department has its Faculty of Instruction, who are charged with the special management of it. The University Senate is composed of all the Faculties, and considers questions of common interest and importance to all the departments.

"The Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts, has six regular and full courses of four years each, and two shorter special courses. The regular courses are the classical, the scientific, the Latin and scientific, the Greek and scientific, the course in civil engineering, and the course in mining engineering. The special courses are the course in analytical chemistry, and the course in pharmacy. Post graduate courses are provided for the graduates of this University, or for the graduates of any college or university who may desire to pursue advanced study, whether for a second degree or not. Students who do not wish to pursue any one of the above courses, may, if they are prepared to enter the University, pursue selected studies for such time, not less than one semester, as they may choose.

"The Department of Medicine and Surgery furnishes instruction chiefly by lectures. The lecture course extends over a period of six months.

"The Department of Law also continues its lectures for six months, from the beginning of October to the end of March.

"Students in any department of the University may enter the classes in any other, upon obtaining permission from the Faculties of the respective departments.

"The several libraries of the University contain over thirty thousand volumes.

"There are no dormitories and no commons connected with the University. Students obtain board and lodging in private families for from three to five dollars per week. Clubs are also formed, in which the cost of board is from one dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per week.

"The University does not undertake to furnish manual labour to students; yet a considerable number of students find in the city opportunities for remunerative labour.

"Room rent varies from seventy-five cents to two dollars per week for each student.

"The annual expenses for students in the Academic Department for the last few years, *including clothing and incidentals*, have been, on the average, about 362 dollars. The expenses of Law and Medical students are from 150 dollars to 200 dollars per term of six months."

The reader will see that students may work for their livelihood while following their studies.

MOUNT MORRIS, a small place of some 600 inhabitants, is in quite an agricultural district; the farms average about 200 acres, nearly every farmer tilling his own land. Farm labourers get about 20 dollars per month, with board and lodging, for nine months in the year, very good men being kept on for the whole twelve months. Farm labour is scarce, as the artisans out of employ in great cities do not care to turn to agricultural work. Land here of good quality is worth from 60 to 75 dollars per acre. Wheat yields in a good year 40 bushels to the acre; Indian corn gives from 75 to 100 bushels per acre, and is much more largely cultivated than wheat, as it pays better. The Grangers are very strong in this district, but their leaders find it difficult to hold them together for slow action. In the Eastern States the Grangers have enormously increased, but are more like our co-operative supply societies. In the West they exercise much more political influence than they do in the East. A great number of hogs are raised in the Mount Morris district, sometimes eight to ten cars per day being loaded and sent away from the Mount Morris railway station.

## OHIO.

CINCINNATI, the principal city of the State of Ohio, is 842 miles from New York City. I took from a man named Taylor, formerly of Oldham, Lancashire, the following statement of work and wages in Cincinnati. He is earning two and a half dollars per day, and is paying eleven dollars per month for a small six-roomed house and a very large garden, about three miles from the city. Unskilled labourers get from one dollar seventy-five cents to two dollars per day, those employed in the building trades from three to three and a half dollars per day. This is, I think, an underestimate. To use Taylor's own words, "Every one can live here comfortably if he has a mind to work." He does not, however, recommend emigration to this city, but rather for parties of six or more, with some little means, to settle in Louisiana or Kansas as farmers. An old Chartist, who had fled from England in 1848, and is now foreman in the largest stove factory in the City, gave the following list of

wages: Machinists earn from two and a half to three dollars per day; the best get three and a quarter. Building trades get from four to five dollars per day, except the carpenters and stonemasons, a large number of whom are Germans, and work for lower wages. The bricklayers get high wages, but are Americans, English, and Irish. In the stove trade the men get two to two and a half dollars per day, the best sixteen dollars per week. My informant, as foreman, got five dollars per day. There is no efficient organisation of the trades unions in Cincinnati. Having since gone through these facts and figures with one of the leading bankers, my judgment would be that there is no sufficient inducement to either skilled or unskilled labourers to settle here, there being a fair supply of labour in the market. I visited the large safe manufactory of the Messrs. Hall, ordinarily employing over 600 hands, but then, in consequence of the panic, only keeping on about half that number. The skilled labourers in this establishment earn from two dollars to three and a half dollars per day, and nine-tenths of them are Germans, the cabinet-makers being chiefly Poles. Nearly all the unskilled labourers are Irish, and they get about ten dollars, and from that to twelve dollars per week. There is only one Irish skilled labourer in the establishment. At Royer's Wheel Works, employing several hundred hands, the average wage was stated by Mr. Royer, who showed me over the establishment, to be two dollars fifty-seven cents, the highest getting three and a half, four, and sometimes over four dollars per day—unskilled labour ten dollars per week. Mr. Royer told me that there was an abundance of unskilled labour, but that in active times there was a want of more skilled labourers.

DELAWARE, in the State of Ohio, is the centre of a rich agricultural district, Indian corn being the staple growth, and it has but little manufacturing industry. The most prominent is the Delaware Chair Company, manufacturing double cane, rattan, and splint-seat chairs, and turning out about 40,000 chairs a year. I was shown over the premises by the manager, who was very obliging in his explanations. The Company employ from 160 to 180 hands, who are Germans and Irish. The Germans are increasing in number, and are reckoned the best workmen. The whole of the work is piece-work. The men's wage averages from 1 dollar 75 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents per day. Boys and girls employed in weaving the cane backs and seats (all of whi

are double-woven) earn from 2 dollars 50 cents per week to 10 dollars per week.

## ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Being presented to Messrs. Avery, Murphy, and Co., one of the chief lumber firms in Chicago, I am able to give the following facts relating to the trade. The Chicago lumber district is situate on the south-west edge of the city, and extends for about two miles, water-slips being cut at intervals into the south branch of the Chicago River sufficiently wide and deep to admit good-sized vessels. The timber is already cut when brought here, and only needs dressing for transhipment to Omaha, Denver, or other out-of-the-way western cities. Sometimes 300 to 400 car-loads of timber, or "lumber," as it is technically termed, are despatched out of Chicago daily. There are about 5,000 men employed in the Chicago lumber trade. There are 110 separate yards; of these 25, the largest, employ on the average 70 men each; about 60 yards each employ 50 men, and about 25 yards employ only 20 men. The highest wage is two dollars per day, but very few men earn as much as this, not more perhaps than four in each yard. A few more get 1 dollar 75 cents per day, and the majority get 1 dollar 50 cents per day. Last year 1,000,000,000 feet of lumber were forwarded through Chicago, but the trade has reached its highest importance, and will probably gradually diminish. The timber is almost exclusively pine, and is obtained from the lower peninsula and upper peninsula of Michigan, from Wisconsin, a little from Georgian Bay, and East Sagman. The hard wood comes chiefly from Indiana. There is a superabundance of labour in the lumber trade; the men are chiefly Germans and Bohemians. The teamsters are nearly all Irish.

Apart from the fact that large numbers of persons have been each winter entirely without employment in Chicago, it is clear that the lumber trade does not call for labour from this side the ocean.

ROCK ISLAND has a population of nearly 10,000 persons, and there is now building on the island itself, close to the town, a Government arsenal, destined to be the largest in the United States, and which, when in full work, finds em-

*yment for* 1,000 hands. The population of Moline is

about 5,000. There are two plough manufactories—or "plow," as the Americans spell it—in Moline, and one in Rock Island, giving employment to about 1,000 hands. Machinists average about two dollars fifty cents per day, common labourers one dollar seventy-five cents to two dollars per day, but I think my informant gave only the best wages. The lumber trade is a great encourager of industry here; there are three very large lumber mills, with the most improved machinery, in Rock Island, and two mills in Moline. Sawyers get in these from three dollars to three dollars fifty cents per day; common labourers from one dollar twenty-five cents to one dollar fifty cents. The supply of labour is at present more than sufficient for the demand upon it. There are a large number of Swedes and Germans in the two towns, but Moline itself is almost entirely a Swedish town. The trade here is said not to have been seriously affected by the panic, and in the farming country round the reports are good.

La Salle, in Illinois, had in 1875 about 6,000 population, and is a growing town on the northern edge of a rich coal district, extending nearly to Tennessee. There are about ten coalpits in the neighbourhood of La Salle, employing in all from 1,200 to 1,500 men. The rate paid for raising coal is ninety-five cents per ton; it has been higher than this. The terrible strike which raged in 1874 through the Seranton district was not felt here at all; the bulk of the men employed in the neighbourhood as coal-miners are English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh, and a very few Belgians. There are, I am told, in this vicinity no men out of work, and an industrious man would have no difficulty in getting a livelihood. I asked my informant why the men on strike at Seranton, or those out of employ in Chicago—the latter only 100 miles distant—did not come here, but on this point he could give me no explanation. Besides the coal mines there are large zinc works, of which the chief proprietor was present at my lecture. Zinc is got at Galena, and is brought here to the coal to save freight. The zinc works employ about 100 men, who get one hundred dollars per month, common labourers one dollar fifty cents to one dollar seventy-five cents per day. There is a glass works, in which the blowers, who are English, get three hundred dollars per month, the glass-cutters one hundred and twenty dollars per month, and the common labourers two dollars to two and a *half dollars* per day. There is also a large cement wor

employing about 150 hands. The ordinary men get from one dollar and a half to two dollars twenty-five cents per day; drill men get one hundred and fifty dollars per month. All the work is done piece-work, and the hands are mostly Poles, Swedes, and Germans. The Poles, who make very good workmen, are increasing in numbers. They, with the Swedes, are above the average for sobriety and steadiness of work, losing no time. The Poles and Swedes will not go into the mines. The superintendent of the cement works, largely used for many years to the employ of labour, told me that he had never had to discharge a Swede for drunkenness.

## WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE is one of those new-created western cities which most thoroughly mark the enterprising spirit of the great American people. On the western shore of Lake Michigan, and about eighty-five miles from Chicago, it now claims a population of 100,000 human beings. Fifty-seven years ago it had not a single white inhabitant. The site of the city was an old and favourite resort of the Indian tribes when they came to the great Lake. The first white settlers were a family of French Canadians, and these were the only permanent dwellers in Milwaukee until 1836. It is from the latter year that the city's rise dates, and she is now the great shipping-port from the north-west for Buffalo and the east. On the occasion of my second visit I was driven over the town by Mr. Cramer, of the *Wisconsin*, accompanied by one of his associate editors; and although the lake wind freezingly bit my lips, nose, and ears, I thoroughly enjoyed my ride of inspection round this solid and thriving Wisconsin port. Some of the huge stores are worthy of London itself, and on the outskirts the successful traders are building themselves dwellings so magnificent, and withal so comfortable, that many of our little poking London West End houses might well feel ashamed in the comparison. The most prominent manufactory is that of the Milwaukee Iron Company, whose smoking chimneys rise about five miles' distance across the bay. It is said that these iron works are the most complete in the United States, and rank next in importance to the works of the Cambria Iron Company in Pennsylvania. The Milwaukee Iron Works occupy about thirty acres of land, and employ altogether about 1,000 men. The furnaces

have capacity for 100 tons a day, and the mills could turn out daily 160 tons of rails. Last year the results of the manufactory were 39,429 tons of rails, and 29,236 tons of pig iron. The iron used is chiefly the brown hematite from Iron Ridge, Wisconsin, and for remainder the red specular from the Lake Superior mines. Wages are described as low, and many workmen are said to be out of employment. The building trades in Milwaukee are brisk, more building having been done in 1874 than during any previous year. The wages of carpenters are from two and a half to three dollars per day, masons three and a half to four and a half dollars per day, painters, plumbers, and tinners two and a half to three dollars per day, builders' labourers, and unskilled labourers generally, one and a half to two dollars per day. The building trades are well employed at present, and Mr. Arthur Bates, an old John Street man, thinks that the honest and industrious mechanic would find himself far better off in Milwaukee than in the old country. Mr. Bates has good means for judgment; he is clear-minded, and has been here twenty-five years. Milwaukee is growing with great rapidity, and its growth is healthy. It has before it a great future. Its local advantages are great, and its citizens are enterprising and persevering. The building season in Milwaukee begins in March; the busy time commences about the 1st of May, and the season closes from the 1st to the 15th of December. About one-third of the population, and a large proportion of the most successful merchants, are German. Mr. Bates does not think that the Germans cause here any real reduction in wages. He says that as soon as they acquire English, and learn the habits of the place, they insist on better pay than they accept on first landing. I drove round the German quarter, and was much pleased with its thriving condition. The grain-shipping trade and the lumber trade are probably the chief sources of the increasing prosperity of Milwaukee.

Whitefish Bay terminates the fashionable drive of the Milwaukee fast trotters. The lake here has an indentation of three or four miles, and another land-slide affords a roadway to a finely sanded and pebbled beach. The bay has long been famous for its white-fisheries. Messrs. Luck and Consaul have a monopoly of the lake line at this point for a distance of three miles, and carry on a very large and lucrative business by means of pound-nets. These nets are *located half* a mile from the beach, and are very peculiar in

their construction. A cordon of piles is driven so as to form an inclosure in the shape of a heart, with a reach out from its narrowest point. The fish, in shoals, encounter this reach of piling, and follow it along until they enter the trap, or heart-shaped enclosure, from which they are unable to escape. The net sunk to the bottom of the pound is lifted at fixed hours, and thus the haul is accomplished. The fish fit for market are placed in boats, and the remainder are set free. The fishing interests of this particular point of the bay make an annual return of about 60,000 dollars, a sum which leaves the owners a handsome margin, after deducting the cost of taking the fish and the losses incident to the business. One hundred and ten dollars' worth of fish have been taken in one haul at the pound, and on several occasions as many as twenty bushel-basketsfull have been taken from the trap in a haul. The fish are taken ashore in large boats constructed with a view to the trade, and are sold fresh, or prepared for curing and packing. They are put up in kegs or kits, marked one, two, or three, according to the quality of the stock. Fish of the size of a large herring are salted and smoked, and in this condition find a ready market at restaurants, saloons, and groceries. The whitefish is a delicious fish, not unlike the English trout in flavour.

FOND DU LAC, in Wisconsin, was originally named by a Canadian Frenchman in 1787, but was not really settled until about 1848. In 1850 it had a population of 1,940, while in October, 1874, it was estimated at over 16,000. The manufactories are chiefly connected with the lumber trade, and give employment to about 3,600 hands. Lumber men get from one and a half to two and a half dollars per day, machinists nearly the same. The average wage throughout Fond du Lac is 1 dollar 80 cents per day; about one-third of the population are Germans. The weather in Fond du Lac in the month of February, 1875, 40 below zero, was reported to be more severe than any known for fifteen years. Round Fond du Lac the country is agricultural. The wages of agricultural labourers are from 15 to 20 dollars per month, kept on the year round, with board and lodging. The farms are from 80 to 150 acres; there are a few of 300 and 400 acres. The chief growth is wheat and oats. Wheat averages 15 to 18 bushels an acre, but is sometimes 30 bushels. Oats [illegible]ge from 40 to 50 bushels per acre. Indian corn is raised [illegible]ding pigs, but not for sale, as the season is not long to enable the farmers to compete successfully with the

corn-growers of southern Illinois. There is a fair quantity of barley grown, averaging about 20 bushels to the acre. The Germans generally have the smallest and best-cultivated farms. They work more steadily than do the Americans, and stand the climate better than the Irish. Amongst the Germans the whole family are continually at work, grubbing up pine roots and clearing round. To use the words of my informant, an American farmer and old settler, "in a few years they will make a pretty nice country round here." They save money, are thrifty and sober, keep very much to themselves, and have schools in which German is chiefly taught. There are stone quarries near Fond du Lac, used for buildings in the town, but not paying well enough to work for commerce. The stone is surface stone, and runs out bad when cut deep. There is a considerable and increasing hog trade, provisions being required for the supply of the pinery camps during the winter months. The climate is generally healthy. The winters are long, but usually free from any such severe storm as that I witnessed. Land may always be bought, as Americans are fond of "dickering," but even with slight improvements would cost 40 to 50 dollars per acre. A family might do well with from £300 to £400, paying an instalment on account of the land, and mortgaging for the remainder. Interest is heavy, being sometimes ten per cent. Provisions for poor people employed in labour are cheap, and rents of houses low. Water is plentiful, and can be got at from 80 to 100 feet. At 250 feet boring the water comes with a force which sends it 30 feet above the surface. Straw, which used to be wasted or burnt, now realises from 4 to 5 dollars per ton for paper-making, two paper mills having been established recently.

Oshkosh is situate on Lake Winnebago, at the mouth of the Fox River, and has a population of about 18,000, of whom two-thirds are American-born, and the rest are foreign, chiefly German. As in Fond du Lac, nearly the whole of the manufactories are connected with the lumber trade, and ordinary labourers get from one and a half to two dollars per day. Although there are no persons actually out of work, the supply of labour fully equals the demand, both in Fond du Lac and Oshkosh. Near Oshkosh most of the farms are 80 acres; there are many 40 acres, very few 20 acres, a good number 160 acres, and very few 400 to 500 acres. I only heard of one farmer in all Wisconsin having

a farm of 1,000 acres. Most men till their own farms. Farm labourers are employed in the harvest season at from 20 to 30 dollars per month with board. In the winter these men go north, and work in the pineries. Wages this year in the pineries are very low—18 dollars to 35 dollars, with food and camp accommodation. The farmers mostly raise wheat, and this year the crop was 15 bushels to the acre. There are plenty of good farms of 160 acres for sale, with good frame-house, storey and a half high, and barn 100 feet by 40, for from 40 to 50 dollars per acre. Hops are chiefly raised for home consumption, and Indian corn for feeding the hogs. The lumber trade of the State has, it is said, a long future before it. Despite the reckless clearing of the forest lands by fire and axe, there are enormous tracts of yellow pine quite untouched, and there are many scores of thousands of acres of white pine yet to be felled.

While weather-bound at Oshkosh I met a Wisconsin farmer, an Englishman by birth, one Joseph Bradley, from about twelve miles from Birmingham, who left Warwickshire fifteen years ago to try his luck here. Bradley began with nothing, on a farm 40 acres in extent; he now owns 500 acres. Last year he raised 600 bushels of potatoes on 6 acres, and 2,000 tons of Swede turnips, called here Rutabagoes, on 6 acres. He raises hay one ton to one and a half ton per acre, and sells it at Chicago, realising £2 per ton, after paying freight and charges. He says that no extra agricultural labourers are at present required here, and when I asked him what advice he would have me give to Warwickshire labourers without money, he replied, earnestly, "Tell the poor devils to stop at home." He says that English artisans make bad farmers, but that any one used to farming, with two or three hundred pounds, and who does not mind hard work, may make a handsome livelihood. He affirms that Wisconsin has the richest soil for all kinds of produce, except for Indian corn and winter wheat. Joseph Bradley, who does not like the Grangers, says, "There are two kinds—the foxy, cunning kind, and the simple, goosy kind, and the one kind exists on the other."

During the last few years several woollen factories have been started in Wisconsin; none of them are more than ten years old, and some have only been started during the last three years. These are at Appleton, Berlin, Neenham, Beaver Dam, Racine, and Wankesha. The hands are *iefly from* Lancashire and Yorkshire. Good men earn

two and a half dollars a day, but this is, I think, the highest rate of wage. Girls earn from 7 to 8 dollars per week, and their board costs them from two and a half to three dollars per week. Some of the girls working on striped shawls at Wankesha earn from 15 to 20 dollars per week. There are but a few hands employed in each mill, and though the manufactories are likely to increase, there is no opening at present there for any new labour. Servant girls are in demand in Wisconsin, and could get good employ at 2 to 3 dollars per week; but except these I cannot advise any persons to emigrate to Wisconsin without the means and ability to become farmers, unless they have capital for manufacturing purposes.

## INDIANA.

In the State of Indiana the farms are large, averaging 120 acres, and some being 1,500 or 2,000 acres. Farm labourers get twenty dollars per month, and their board, lodging, and washing, from March 1st to October 1st; during the winter there is occasional employment at from fifteen to twenty dollars per month. The demand for agricultural labourers is here greater than the supply. My informant had farmed in Johnson County, thirty miles south of Indianapolis. Indian corn is the staple growth, and forty bushels per acre is a very low yield. Wheat is largely grown, and fifteen bushels per acre would be regarded as a small crop. Oats are plentifully raised, and give thirty-five bushels per acre, and potatoes seventy-five bushels per acre. Land ranges from forty to one hundred dollars per acre, and good land may be easily bought for about sixty dollars per acre. There is plenty of land for sale, many of the farmers having become much involved since the war, when high prices for their produce tempted them to speculation and extravagance. Large quantities of hogs are raised in Indiana. The seasons are moderate, but changeable. There is plenty of water. The health is generally good, though there is a tendency to malarial diseases. The cultivation is esteemed higher than the average in neighbouring States. An industrious and frugal man, with five hundred dollars, might rent a farm of eighty or a hundred acres for five years, paying half the produce as rent, and at the end of that period would be in a position

to buy thirty or forty acres for himself. Skilled labourers get from two to four dollars per day. In the little town of Edinburgh tailors earned fifteen dollars per week, and seamstresses from six to eight dollars per week.

## KANSAS.

KANSAS CITY, which had formerly been a small village, commenced in 1853 to grow, and at the outbreak of the rebellion was probably the most important trading-point west of St. Louis. During the war the city was repeatedly occupied in turn by the Federals and Confederates, who each punished the citizens by confiscating their property, until at last Kansas City was nearly ruined out of existence; but in 1870 an entire change was worked, several railroads were completed, capitalists moved in, large stores were erected, until, in 1873, Kansas City had a flourishing population of about 35,000 persons. I never saw so strange a city as this outpost of Western Missouri. It is built on or in the Missouri bluffs; and if one could imagine that the gods and giants of the old Greek mythology had used the bluffs and houses as missiles to throw at one another, it would give some faint idea of the irregularity of the streets, some of which are ten, twenty, and even thirty feet higher than others, and slope into each other at gradients so steep as to render walking in slippery weather a feat of great dexterity.

Kansas City is the largest beef-packing station in this part of the country; and Messrs. Plankington and Co. have the largest establishment probably in the world. They slaughter and pack 1,200 beasts per day. You will get an idea of this despatch by considering that 1,200 in ten hours are two beeves a minute, slaughtered, dressed, packed, with the tallow and all the waste tried and barrelled. The building covers several acres of land. Attached to the outside, above the basement storey, is a line of pens, each large enough to hold two cattle. In the yards below the droves are kept, and half-a-dozen men are constantly driving up the inclined plane leading to the slaughter-pens cattle by twos. When these pens are filled, a man with a rifle passes over them, dropping cold lead between their eyes. It keeps this man very busy all day to despatch his 1,200. These pens are connected with the slaughter-

house by heavy doors, which are raised as the cattle are wanted. A chain is hitched to them, and by steam they are drawn into position for the knives. There are half-a-dozen different sets of butchers. The first man passes along the line, sticking; and then follow a set skinning and amputating the heads; then come the next set to skin and amputate the legs, and split the hide down the belly; they are followed by "siders," who skin down the sides of the animals; then come the "backers," who put in the gambrels, order the hoist, and skin down the backs. Men with cleavers follow, when the ox is partly split down, and he is ready for two men with levers, who slide him across the blood gutter to the set who finish by splitting down and rinsing. Other sets are engaged dragging away heads, insides, &c. Every man has just so much to do, with no possibility of shirking his part or going slow. The help is so organised that each gang drives the other, thus giving the proprietor the benefit of a full day's work from every hand. Every part of the animal is utilised except the offal and blood, which, the proprietors informed us, would be saved next year. The inwards are dressed, and by an elevator carried, with other waste pieces, into the upper storey, where they are thrown into steam tanks, and drawn out below in the shape of tallow or other useful material. The process of cutting up and packing is equally interesting to the spectator, and is attended with all possible despatch. The pay of the men varies from 1 dol. 25 cents to 5 dols. per day. The siders are considered the most skilful, and get 5 dols., while the backers come in next with 4 dols. The common hand gets 2 dols. to 2 dols. 50 cents, while helpers, or those who do the carrying away, &c., get about 1 dol. 50 cents. In the season of hog-killing, this house considers nothing less than 3,500 hogs a full day's work. Although this is the largest packing-house, there are three other large establishments in near vicinity, which will serve to give the reader an idea of the amount of this kind of business in Kansas City.

Both in East Kansas and East Nebraska there is plenty of fertile land; and if parties of eight or ten, having about £100 a-piece, or a little less, will take a 640 acre section, and will raise stock upon it, they may do very well indeed. To merely grow grain, or Indian corn, is practically useless. The cost of shipment to Chicago, St. Louis, or to Colorado, the only markets for sale of produce, is too heavy to leave a profit sufficient to maintain the settler; if,

however, he raises pigs, they will eat the corn, and the pork finds a ready and profitable market. During the winter, the settler may also get a quantity of cattle as follows:—The State of Texas is one enormous tract of cattle-raising country; these cattle are driven north-west of the Indian territory into Kansas and Nebraska, Western Kansas and Nebraska being purely grazing lands. Scores of thousands of Texas cattle are wintered in Kansas and Nebraska, the farmers taking charge of the herds, and the cattle owners allowing the farmers a certain proportion of the stock as payment. This is called "wintering on shares." The cattle feed, if the season be mild, chiefly on the tall corn-stalks, left always standing, and on the prairie grass. If the winter be too severe, the farmer helps them out with his stock of grain or corn. It is, perhaps, necessary to remind English readers that by corn Americans only mean Indian corn.

Land varies in price from two dollars to ten dollars per acre, but generally good land can be got in the States of Kansas and Nebraska, not higher than five dollars per acre. This land the railway companies sell on terms spread over five to ten years. There are two classes of land open to emigrants—first, the Government land, which any citizen, or intending citizen, of the United States may acquire under the Pre-emption Act of the 4th of September, 1841, or the Homestead Act of the 20th of May, 1862. Under the Pre-emption Act, any unappropriated land is obtained by any citizen of the United States, or by any emigrant who has filed a declaration of his intention to become a citizen, on payment of one dollar twenty-five cents per acre for land outside the railway limits, and two dollars fifty cents per acre for land within the railway limits. The purchase cannot be completed until the purchaser has resided on the land for at least six months, and has done sufficient to the soil to show his good faith as an actual settler.

The emigrant first settling upon a tract of unappropriated land is entitled to the right of pre-emption, and this right commences from the date he performs the first work on the land; unmarried or single women, more than twenty-one years of age, have the same rights as men. Under the Homestead Act, 160 acres of the cheaper land, or eighty acres of the dearer land, can be obtained by making affidavit that the land is for the purpose of actual settlement

and cultivation. After five years actual residence and cultivation, and proof that no part of the land has been alienated, the Government issue a patent, granting the land to the settler without any price being paid. Homestead lands are free from taxation, and cannot be taken away or sold for debt, but are absolutely secure to the settler so long as he occupies and cultivates the land. To make this more clear, I ought, perhaps, to state that nearly all the large railway companies have grants of land for twenty miles on each side of their tract.

This railway land is in alternate sections of 640 acres, that is, one section of railway land, then one section of Government land; the Government land having a fixed price of two dollars fifty cents per acre, and the railway land being sold for what it will fetch.

In South-east Kansas, in Crawford and Cherookee counties, and especially in the latter, large quantities of coal are being discovered. Some of this coal is found within three feet of the surface, and the bulk of it is at present worked in a most irregular fashion. Many of the settlers are only squatters, the title to the land being in litigation; the squatters shovel up as much surface coal as they can, and sell it to the railroad company, scarcely any mining being done in the technical sense of the word. The whole of the south-eastern portion of Kansas, down into the Indian territory, is very fertile, but I do not feel sure that it is quite safe for individual settlers. There is a little too much marauding, and the law authorities are hardly strong enough for the protection of individual citizens.

## WHERE FOOD CAN BE GROWN, AND WHERE SOLD

NORTHERN INDIANA, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, can show an actual surplus of 85,000,000 bushels of wheat, at sixty-six pounds to the bushel, beyond all needs of home consumption, and this on a short crop. That this surplus might be extended in a vast and almost incalculable degree, if the freights on railroad transportation were not so heavy; that the freights by rail to Boston and New Y

are at present so extremely heavy as to check the cultivation of grain, by precluding the possibility of its sale, with sufficiently encouraging profit to the grower; that there are only three methods of getting grain to the sea practicable at present from the Western and North-western States. 1. By rail all the way to Boston and New York. 2. By Lake Erie to Buffalo, and thence by Erie Canal or rail to the same cities. 3. By the lakes and the St. Lawrence to Montreal. In addition to these, which will be all examined in turn, there is the water route by the Mississippi to New Orleans. On the first route, entirely by rail, all seem to agree that the charge for carriage is so heavy as to render it utterly impossible to have efficient cultivation, because the crops will not pay to move. On the question of the lawfulness of the rates, there is a great diversity of opinion. The Grangers contend that the railway companies can carry more cheaply, and ought to be made to do so by Congressional legislation. The railway companies say, on the contrary, that their present rates are as low as they can be made, and that in many States their charters exempt them from restrictive legislation, so far as their freight charges are concerned. At present, in winter, the railway freight rate per mile is one cent and a third, and in summer one cent per ton. This latter rate the railway companies pretend is without profit to them, and is forced on them only while the lakes and canal routes are open. The instant ice stops the way the railway companies put up their prices, and have practically the whole matter in their own hands. In taking the lake route to Buffalo, and thence by Erie Canal, there is the difficulty of transhipment, and, still worse, the fact that after November 15th the vessels will bring no cargoes, as the Erie Canal is usually frozen towards the end of November, so that only two months' harvest traffic can be relied on on the canal, during which it is impossible to transport more than about 1,500,000 tons of grain. If, instead of canal, the rail be taken from Buffalo to the eastern ports, the freight-cost again becomes so onerous as to check the traffic. The water route by St. Lawrence is sometimes closed in the winter; it is said to be dangerous, and it is urged that there is not incoming ocean tonnage sufficient to take outwards any very large consignments of grain. It is claimed that the natural route to the sea, from the whole of the great corn-growing regions, is by the Mississippi and its tributary rivers to New Orleans. Thus, by this route grain could be sent from St.

Louis at five cents, and from Cincinnati at seven cents per bushel, or even lower. Two difficulties stand in the way: the first a trifling one in this age of engineering progress—viz., that in a few places the channel of the Mississippi would require deepening. Already at New Orleans a vast improvement has been made, and this of a permanent kind, as the river is made to do its own dredging and clearing. The second is more serious—*i.e.*, that at present there is not enough of steam ocean tonnage to remove any very large quantity of grain from New Orleans to Europe.

If the farming emigrants were conveyed from Europe to New Orleans, they would not only avoid an expensive railway journey from the East, during which they are subject to many impositions, but the steam transports would be able to return to Europe with grain, which would be at least twenty cents per bushel cheaper than it is at present. The question needs close study, for to-day there is much of the most fruitful land, on which the crop when raised is almost worthless. In 1873 more than 100,000 bushels of grain were burnt as fuel, within 200 miles of St. Louis, in the States of Iowa, Missouri, and Michigan, simply because it would not pay to send to Chicago or the East, and because the farmers could not even exchange it for groceries. A prominent and intelligent Granger, on whose statement I can rely, told me of a cargo of potatoes sent from Mahaska, in Iowa, to Boston, which on sale realised 277 dollars, out of which the grower received 77, the other 200 being all swallowed up in freight and commissions. Another farmer residing near Burlington, in Iowa, sent two railway car-loads of potatoes to Chicago, where they were sold at the price of the day. The whole of the proceeds were swallowed up by the railroad company, and, in addition, the farmer was brought 17 dollars in debt. When grain is cheap the railway freights are increased, so that the consumer does not reap the benefit. It is to try to remedy this state of things which, while it exists, is fatal to emigrant success in the farming districts, that the Grange movement has been initiated.

THE GRANGE MOVEMENT.—The farmers of the West, who are nearly all freeholders, and many of whom are small farmers, have therefore formed themselves into a sort of semi-secret association, of which men and women are members, each lodge being called a Grange, and bearing the name of its village. The object is co-operation for the

sale, purchase, and transport of grain. As the only means for controlling the charges for carriage is through the State and Federal Legislatures, and as the railway monopolists have hitherto practically held the whole control of the various elections, the Grange movement is becoming one of vast political significance. It seeks to control all the elections, and thus to achieve its objects. It is a spontaneous movement, and is increasing in some States with enormous rapidity in numbers and influence. There is an effort being made to extend this Grange movement in the Eastern States amongst the grain consumers, but at present the organisations are not very serious in the East. The Grange movement is purely a farmers' movement, and was originated at Washington, in 1867. As the German element largely predominates amongst the farmers, this movement may, as it grows, give special prominence to German legislators; at present the leading chief officers in the Granges have English names. It must be remembered in judging the importance of this Grange movement, that the pursuits of the citizens of the United States are chiefly agricultural. At the last census nearly three-sevenths of the males over ten years of age were engaged in agriculture, while less than one-seventh were employed in manufactories.

As an illustration of the extent of the Grange organisation, and of its development up to 1875, I give the following list of the Granges then existing, premising that no Grange is complete until it has thirty members—twenty men and ten women; and that in Iowa the numerical strength of each Grange is from forty to one hundred members. Alabama has 266 Granges; Florida, 18; Kentucky, 68; Louisiana, 38; Maryland, 14; Maine, 1; Massachusetts, 14; New Jersey, 21; Virginia, 9; Colorado, 2; New Hampshire, 9; Washington, 5; Arkansas, 93; California, 117; Georgia, 395; Illinois, 748; Indiana, 633; Iowa, 1880; Kansas, 679; Michigan, 130; Minnesota, 379; Mississippi, 480; Missouri, 1,079; Nebraska, 350; New York, 24; North Carolina, 120; Ohio, 218; Oregon, 45; Pennsylvania, 48; South Carolina, 190; Tennessee, 229; Texas, 37; Vermont, 31; West Virginia, 22; Dacota, 30; Wisconsin, 251. This enormous organisation is composed almost wholly of farmers and grain consumers and producers, in league against the railroad monopolists and grain factors.

I received a letter from Manchester asking which is the

best State, and the best part of such State, in America for locating fifty families working together in co-operative fashion on land to be held in common. First, with the exception of Aroostook County, in the State of Maine, the whole of the following States may be rejected as unfit for such a settlement—viz., Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and perhaps I ought to add New York. In all these long-settled States the cities are overcrowded, and all available land is now held at prices which forbid advantageous settlement, and while Aroostook County would furnish cheap fertile land, and has many advantages, I fear the winters would be too long and severe for English settlers. Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, South Michigan, Mississippi, and Missouri would offer some glorious spots for such a co-operative village; but the improved land in these States is already so valuable as to need a somewhat larger capital than I suppose to be at the command of those asking my advice. Eliminating, then, the States already mentioned, I should point to Virginia, in the South; East Kansas and East Nebraska, west of the Mississippi River; Colorado and California, in the Far West; Minnesota and Wisconsin in the North-West, and Texas in the South-West. For those who have a few hundred pounds, splendid land might be found in the valley of Virginia. The old slaveholders have been compelled to sell, and in the valley and Blue Mountain region, good land may be purchased. Eastern Virginia and North Carolina should be avoided, as the lands are worn out, and the climate very unhealthy. The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company have lands in Iowa, Nebraska, and north of the Platte river, which average about 6 dollars an acre, and is sold in payments extending over ten years at six per cent. interest. This railway takes purchasers at half-fares from Chicago; and if a purchaser actually settles on the land, and cultivates one-half of it within two years from the date of purchase, they allow a rebate of one-fifth of the purchase-money. G. S. Harris, Esq., their Land Commissioner, Lincoln, Nebraska, will forward gratuitously the fullest information to any inquirers mentioning my name. East Nebraska is fertile, and fitted for settlers, but not the west or north-west. In Texas at present the objections to colonisation are too great; but if it should be determined to select that State, then the emigrants should proceed

straight to the port of Galveston, to which steamers run direct from Liverpool or Glasgow. The State of Texas contains 175,000,000 acres, and has a population of about a million. Stock-raising has been the favourite occupation of Texas settlers, and its vast and fertile prairie lands afford facilities for breeding and raising large quantities of cattle with comparatively little care and attention. The climate is good, as the sea breeze is an alleviation of the heat in summer. North Texas is especially adapted to the growth of wheat, from Dallas north to the Red River, or east towards Jefferson, south to Fairfield, and west to the river Brazos. This district is not only liable to Indian raids, in consequence of its proximity to the Indian territory, but, what is worse, has afforded a shelter to some of the lawless spirits left from the great war, and I hesitate to recommend it. The low river bottoms in Texas, although fertile, must not be allowed to tempt English settlers, as they are extremely unhealthy; and it is said that in the northern parts of Texas unacclimatised persons suffer considerably from chills and fevers. In many cases such diseases arise from inattention on the part of the new settler to diet, clothing, and the state of indigestion. Lands in Texas are very cheap indeed, and is held under a special land law, differing from the other States in the union. While there are many large tracts of good land on which such a co-operative village might easily be founded, it should be remembered that these would be far removed from civilisation, and that produce would be realisable with difficulty, in consequence of the cost of transportation. Should emigrants desiring to become settlers in Texas be unwise enough to go by way of New York, the fare is, first-class, 68 dollars 25 cents to Houston; or for emigrants in the emigrant car 36 dollars, but all luggage over 100 lbs. costs 9 dollars per 100 lbs. There is a large German population in Texas, and a considerable negro element.

Colorado is a territory highly recommended for those who have capital. Colorado has Wyoming territory on its north, Kansas on its east, Utah (or Mormonland) on its west, and New Mexico on its south. It has an area of 67,723,520 acres, and a population which, at the census of 1870, was only 39,864, and although it has much increased in population since that date—amounting in June, 1874, to 105,118—is still very thinly peopled. Its surface has been divided into plains, parks, and mountains. In the last are

some valuable mining districts of coal and iron, as well as the much-talked-of gold-mining region. I have had overtures made to me as to transporting colliers and iron-miners to the country near Labran, and, if these offers assume a *bona fide* shape, I shall submit them to my readers. The coal district of Colorado embraces a district so vast that, with the coal-beds of Wyoming, the coal basin includes at least 5,000 square miles. For emigrants without means, and who have to live by hand labour, Colorado is as yet too thinly settled to afford tempting employment; but when the vast industries of this part of the country are developed in the future, it has all the facilities for maintaining a very large population. It takes four days to reach Denver from New York City. The fare, first-class, is 79 dollars 50 cents, to which must be added about 30 dollars for sleeping berths and meals; the emigrant fare is about 66 dollars; the distance is nearly 2,000 miles. The soil of the plains in Colorado is highly praised.

"It is generally loam, very friable, no hard sub-soil, surface soil 1½ to 4 deet deep. All grains do well, except in Northern Colorado, where the nights are too cool for corn. Vegetables grow abundantly and large. All shrubs, plants, and flowers thrive. Most fruits do well. The average yield of grain in the territory is: wheat, 28 bushels per acre; oats, 40 bushels; potatoes, 150 bushels; corn, 25 bushels; and barley, 35 bushels."

This statement is from a Colorado man, and must therefore be taken as putting the best view; but I am inclined to regard it as corroborated by the additional information which has reached me:—

"The principal manufactures in Colorado are lumber and flour. There are some forty flour flouring mills, turning out over 600,000 sacks per year, worth 2,500,000 dollars. The lumber interests of Colorado have attained great importance. The pineries of the Divide, where there are some twenty mills, send annually to Denver 12,000,000 feet of lumber, and to Pueblo, Colorado Springs, and other points, vast quantities. There are also mills sawing out large quantities in the headwaters of the Arkansas, Big Thompson, Cache-la-Poudre, and at numerous other points in Southern Colorado. The present annual lumber product is about 30,000,000 feet, worth 775,000 dollars.

"Agricultural lands generally range from 3 dollars 50 cents to 7 dollars; timber lands from 5 to 10 dollars; coal lands from 10 to 100 dollars; and grazing lands from 2 to 4 dollars per acre. It is optional with the purchaser to pay all cash, or to buy upon five years' credit. If he chooses the latter, he must pay one-fifth of the price down, and interest upon the other four-fifths for one year in advance.

"Irrigation is required in Colorado farming. The expense on large tracts does not exceed one dollar per acre per year. There is an Irrigation Law regulating the matter. There are many canals and ditches

owned by private parties, who charge for the use of water 1 dollar 50 cents to 4 dollars per cubic inch for the year."

Stock-raising is in Colorado, as in Texas, a favourite and profitable pursuit. The cattle-raising area of Northern Colorado, east of the mountains, is about 20,000 square miles, and in Southern Colorado the district is said to be larger.

## GENERAL NOTES.

AMONGST the emigration schemes just now submitted to the public is one, extensively advertised, for Texas. It should be borne in mind that nearly all the river-bottom lands of Texas are extremely unhealthy; that the whole of the border-land fringing the Indian territory is unsafe, and that the good lands of Texas, of which, doubtless, there are plenty, are as yet unsettled, and that they are only so left without settlers because they are too far distant from any available market.

Under date of March 15th, 1879, a correspondent of the *Labour News*, writing from Navasota, Texas, says—"There is little or no demand for labour in this State at present. Farm labourers from 8 dols. to 12 dols. per month; section hands on railroads, 1 dol. to 1 dol. 15c. per day, board 16 dols. per month; bridge men, 1 dol. 35c. to 2 dols. 50c. per day, board 18 dols. per month. Several railroads are in course of construction, notably the Texas and Pacific, from Fort Worth, westwards; M. K. and T., from Dennison, southwards. The Central and Montgomery, from Navasota to Montgomery, about twenty-seven miles; track laid about nine miles, and still progressing fast as bad weather will permit. The East and West Narrow Guage from Houston; track laid about forty-seven miles; this road is being pushed with vigour. The Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fé, from Galveston, has reached Richmond, on the Brazos (about fifty miles); intentions are to get to Belton Semi, seventy miles further by Christmas. There are several roads in course of construction or projected in different parts of the State. The best criterion for the labour demand of this State at present can be found from the fact of a Mr. Duncan having introduced a bill in the Legislature now in session at Austin, for the punishment or suppression of tramps."

"Tramps" mean unemployed persons wandering from town to town in search of food. It is scarcely worth while inducing poor people to go several thousand miles, in order that they may there be subjected to new laws rendered necessary by the excess of unemployed already existing in the State to which they are invited. Why does not Texas, at least, absorb New England poor before men and women are invited to emigrate there from old England?

In June, 1878, in Fall River, in the State of Massachusetts, there were 8,000 women, and children of both sexes under eighteen years of age operatives, out of work. The official report of the State Bureau gives 28,508 as the aggregate number of skilled and unskilled labourers, male and female, over the age of eighteen years, out of employment in Massachusetts June 1, 1878. And this report avowedly is an official reply to the assertions of the labour agitators, who, the report says, pretend "that there are from 200,000 to 300,000 people out of employment in this State; 40,000 in the city of Boston; 3,000,000 in the United States." But the State authorities add, "We do not wish it to be understood for a moment that we do not think the people are poor: they are poor indeed, but they are not starving; and we venture the opinion that they are not suffering for food to the extent the popular estimate would lead us to imagine, and that the number now out of employment is not much larger than in ordinary times." These poor people are 3,000 miles nearer to Texas than are the poor of the United Kingdom.

The same report affirms that the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts had the greatest proportion of unemployed of any of the States of the great Republic. Of the employed Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the chief of the Labour Bureau says—"The people are living on smaller wages, are learning to live within their means, and trying to adapt their wants to the circumstances in which they find themselves." He also mentions that, so far as his own State of Massachusetts is concerned, for the year 1878, "Immigration has not taken place, while emigration has to a considerable extent." We ought, in justice to Mr. Wright, to add, that while he frankly concedes that "the industrial stagnation and depression has been, and is, severe enough," he also adds, that "every sign indicates sure recuperation. The people," he says, "are growing stronger every month; and, while this country will not jump into prosperity," he

thinks that manufactures and commerce will gradually recover; but this is not an attractive prospect for the hungry people invited to cross the ocean.

Poor people invited to emigrate should remember how hard it is for persons used to England to encounter extremes of heat or cold, while it is absolutely impossible for them to take reasonable precautions against either the exceptional heat, on the one hand, or the bitter cold on the other. In the extreme North West of the United States, the cold in winter is very often under twenty degrees below zero; and in Canada, in the winter, the houses may be seen packed round with two or three feet of earth to keep out the frost. Even when men are well fed and well clothed, it is always difficult for them to struggle for any long time against the severity of a climate utterly foreign to their whole natures. Much more difficult and painful is the struggle when the immigrant is hungry, and his clothing is unsuited or insufficient.

The tide of emigration, during the past ten years, has been from Canada into the United States, and this conclusively shows that the advantages must be on the side of the American Republic; but if this be so, the whole of the statements given above as to America will apply with still greater force to the Canadian Dominion.

In the present state of affairs in Southern Africa, it is needless to do more than point the would-be immigrant to the fact that although the climate is stated to be favourable, and special advantages are boasted, either the length, and consequent cost of the voyage, or hostile conditions not generally known, have hitherto operated to prevent the Cape from attracting any large number of our countrymen. Emigration to Brazil has been a cruel fraud so far as English people have been concerned.

There are, doubtless, many parts of the Australian colonies where our poor would be much better off, but the expense of the longer voyage will prevent the very poor from getting there; and assisted passages are only given to strong and healthy people, used to special kind of labour, and, even then, to the merest few compared with the great crowds of hungry ones at home.

New Zealand is highly spoken of as a place for healthy emigrants who have only small families, and who are fit for manual labour; and it is free from the objections of climate I have urged against Canada. I can only repeat as to New *and from* the letters which reach me from that colony,

and the printed information issued by the Government; and my counsel therefore can have but little weight, except as guiding to better sources of information. There is a pamphlet, "Twenty-five Years of Emigrant Life in the South of New Zealand," which I am told is fairly reliable, except that wages are hardly as high as in 1874, when Mr. Adam wrote; and there is also a Secular Society at Nelson, New Zealand, the members of which would gladly answer any questions by an intending emigrant. Letters might be addressed to the Secretary, care of Mr. Gilbert, Nelson.

New Zealand consists of three islands, 1,100 miles long, and about 160 miles broad; but its breadth, like its surface, is far from uniform. The total area is about 70,000,000 acres. The North Island, which contains about 30,000,000 acres, has been divided into four provinces—Auckland, Wellington, Hawke's Bay, and Taranaki. There are, however, serious difficulties, on account of native rights, in colonising its extensive plains.

The Middle Island is the largest in New Zealand. It is 500 miles long and 160 broad, and has an area of 38,000,000 acres. It has been divided into five provinces—Otago, Canterbury, Nelson, Marlborough, and Westland. This island is very mountainous on the west, where the New Zealand Alps rise from 3,000 to 13,200 feet above the sea. This part of New Zealand is one of the most rugged and sterile regions on the earth, large portions of which have never been trodden by the foot of man. From this lofty range the land falls towards the east as in Scotland, and there occurs every now and then great sheets of level land, specially in the provinces of Otago and Canterbury, called plains. These plains vary in size from 20,000 to 1,000,000 acres in extent. The great body of the settlers are at present on the plains on the sea-board. The county of Westland is devoted to gold mining, Nelson and Marlborough to pastoral and mining pursuits, Canterbury to wool and grain, and Otago to agriculture, wool, and gold. Stewart Island is only about a twentieth part of the size of Middle Island.

The passage to New Zealand is calculated at £16, and by an Act passed in 1875, every person of the age of eighteen years, and not exceeding sixty years thereafter, arriving in New Zealand from the United Kingdom, who *shall have* paid the passage to New Zealand, and who

desires to settle upon and cultivate land therein, is declared to be entitled to a free grant of a piece of land to the value of £20. And if such person is the head of a family, then in respect of the passage of each member of such family of the age of fourteen years or upwards, land to the value of £20; and for each member of such family of less age than fourteen years, land to the value of £10; provided that no person shall be entitled to such free grant of land unless he shall, before leaving the place of departure for New Zealand, have obtained from the Agent-General of New Zealand, or any person appointed by him for the purpose, a certificate in writing that he and those members of his family in respect of whom he claims to be entitled as aforesaid are suitable immigrants.

Every person claiming to be entitled to land under this Act must, within sixty days after his first arrival in New Zealand, furnish personally to the Immigration Officer under "The Immigration and Public Works Act, 1870," a statement of his claim to be so entitled, showing when and by what ship and at what port or place he (or he and his family) arrived, and from what port or place he or they emigrated, and the name and age of himself, or of himself and each member of his family; and within sixty days thereafter, furnish such proof of the truth of the statement as shall be required by the Immigration Officer.

In Otago the most valuable land is not to be *sold*, but *leased*, on the principle of deferred payments. By this arrangement the capital of a poor lessee is devoted to the improvement of his land, the erection of houses, &c. The *rent* to be paid is 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre annually. This may be continued for ten years, at the end of which time the land is his own; or if the leaseholder wishes to pay up at the end of three years, he may obtain his title-deeds on payment of 17*s.* 6*d.* per acre. In both cases the sum paid for the land is 25*s.* an acre, but as this is spread over ten years the real price paid for the land is equivalent to an immediate payment of 13*s.* 10*d.* per acre. The land for which this sum is asked could, it is said, all be sold in a year at 2*l.* and 3*l.* per acre, if the Government would throw it open to large purchasers, so that, if this be true, the person who takes land on the principle of deferred payments has the land *given to him at one-half of its real value.* The Government, of course, get the advantage of a taxing population.

An applicant for this land can get 50 acres or 200 acres if desired, but this quantity cannot be increased, except in the case of large families whose sons are of age to take up land on their own account. The chief condition annexed to the occupation and purchase of this land is the *bona fide* occupation of the land, and its improvement. The land must be fenced by the end of the third year. One-tenth of the land must be cultivated before the end of the lease—that is, before the end of the ten years—or if the title-deeds are wanted up at the end of the three years, one-tenth of the land must be improved, in either case, as the emigrant may elect.

The *New Zealander* for 31st January, 1879, declares that there is an abundance of employment and high wages for all classes.

The *Marlborough Express*, Blenheim, for January 18th, speaks of the scarcity of farm labour.

The *New Zealand Times* says that "notwithstanding the recent arrivals of emigrant ships the domestic servant labour market is still as bare as ever. Female servants of any value cannot be got; indeed, it is difficult to get any, good or bad."

The *Wellington Evening Chronicle* speaks in similar fashion.

There is the Chinese difficulty to be encountered by British emigrants in New Zealand, as well as in the other Australasian colonies. The population pressure in China is each year finding larger relief in emigration, and the Chinese labourer can live well under conditions which an European cannot endure.

There is an endeavour now being made by the whole of the colonial Governments to prevent Chinese emigrants from coming over in large numbers, but it is impossible to hazard an opinion on the ultimate result, especially bearing in mind the treaties we have forced upon China.

# APPENDIX.

THE following list, reprinted from the *Labour News*, will be useful to those wishing to make inquiries for themselves:—

AGENTS-GENERAL AND ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE COLONIES AND FOREIGN STATES IN LONDON.

*For the information of intending Emigrants and others.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Australia (South) | ... | Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., Agent-general, 8, Victoria-chambers, Victoria-street, Westminster, S.W. |
| ,, (Western) | ... | H. M. Emigration Commissioners, Downing-street. |
| Canada ... ... | ... | William Annand, Esq., Canada Buildings, 31, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C. |
| Cape of Good Hope | ... | W. C. Burnet, Esq., 10, Blomfield-street, London, E.C. |
| Colorado... ... | ... | South Pueblo Colony, 15, Russell-street, London, W.C. |
| Natal, South Africa | ... | J. G. Rolls, 79, Coleman-street, E.C. |
| New South Wales | ... | The Hon. W. Forster, 3, Westminster-chambers, S.W. |
| New Zealand ... | ... | Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G., 7, Westminster-chambers, S.W. |
| Ontario ... ... | ... | Peter Byrne, Esq., Canada Buildings, 31, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C. |
| Oregon ... ... | ... | Alsager Hay Hill, Esq., Commissioner of Immigration, 15, Russell-street, London. |
| Queensland ... | ... | A. Macalister, C.M.G., Agent-general, 32, Charing Cross. |
| South Australia... | ... | See above. |
| Tasmania ... | ... | Emigrants' and Colonists' Aid Corporation, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster. |
| Texas ... ... | ... | W. G. Kingsbury, 5, Euston-grove, London, N.W. |
| Victoria ... ... | ... | Archibald Michie, Esq., Q.C., 8, Victoria-chambers, Westminster, S.W. |

Mr. Alsager Hay Hill will also give general emigration information, and may be deemed reliable on all matters as to which he speaks positively. As to Mr. Kingsbury, it must be borne in mind that he is here specially to sell land in Texas, and a considerable deduction must be made from [illegible] statements.

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